

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE FORTIFICATIONS OF ARMENIAN CILICIA

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to catalogue and describe systematically all of the extant ecclesiastical architecture that was surveyed in the Armenian forts of Cilicia (fig. 43) during three complete seasons of field work. The twenty-one buildings in question are divided on the basis of complexity and size into two general categories: *Churches* and *Chapels*. Under the introductory heading of each group there is a brief explanation of the common features in that category. Thereafter, each building is described separately in respect to its location, date of construction, masonry, design, and architectural uniqueness. The sites are catalogued by their modern Turkish names. When the medieval Armenian name is known and differs from the Turkish designation it is cited in brackets. The buildings in both categories are arranged simply by a geographical sequence from east to west. Since no excavations were undertaken, all descriptions and surveys are based on surface remains.¹

It is not the intent of this paper to engage in a long comparative study of the development of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture and its interre-

lation with Byzantium. When the Cilician models have some special relationship to the churches or chapels in Armenia proper or to Greek structures in Cilicia the specific areas concerned are discussed. Otherwise, references in the footnotes can guide the reader to more exhaustive analyses. Following the description of the churches and chapels in Cilicia there is a brief discussion of the significance of these buildings.

At present there is no published account of the religious architecture in Armenian Cilicia. This neglect is due in part to the absence of any sizable remains of Armenian churches or chapels outside the confines of fortifications. Beginning with the destruction of the Armenian capital at Sis by the Mamluks in 1266, the religious structures in the exposed urban areas of Cilicia have suffered the vicissitudes of repeated earthquakes and revolutions. Although the Armenians held political and economic suzerainty over Cilicia from the early 1100s to 1375, their kingdom had few cities. Outside of Sis only Tarsus, Adana, and Misis (Mopsuestia) are mentioned as having Armenian churches in the medieval period. The original number of urban churches and the nature of their construction are impossible to determine. Presently, the fortifications are the only survivors. In recent articles and monographs on Armenian castles in Cilicia scant attention has been given to the discovery of ecclesiastical buildings. It was during my own surveys of these castles from 1973 to '74 and again in 1979 that I realized that only 50 percent of the religious structures had received even the slightest mention in modern publications.

CHURCHES

The category of *Churches* is somewhat artificial, in that only two of the twenty-one structures dis-

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cussed in this paper constitute this group.² Their inclusion under a separate heading is due more to their dissimilarity to the *Chapels* than to any large number of characteristics they hold in common (fig. 1).

The few features which ally these two structures are shared by many of the small Armenian churches.³ The two Cilician churches are comparable in size and masonry. They have a rectangular façade, in keeping with the Armenian tradition of concealing the internal structure in vertical and horizontal planes. Each covers about 104 sq. m. of surface area. The walls are constructed with an inner and an outer facing of smooth ashlar and a poured core of mortar and rubble.⁴ Both buildings have a complicated chevet that consists of a central apse and flanking apsidioles. In the north and south walls of the central apse are small, roundheaded niches. These compartments serve an important function in the Armenian liturgy.⁵ Neither structure has a narthex or an atrium, but they are each flanked by a single oratory. These churches were constructed by powerful dynasts and dedicated to their families.

The internal plans of the two churches are not

uniform. The specific nature of their differences and their connection with Armenian architectural traditions are detailed in the description of each church.

Anavarza (south bailey)—37°15'/35°54'—The Church of T'oros I

The fortress of Anavarza is located in the heart of Cilicia Pedias. It rests on a limestone outcrop approximately 5 km. east of the road that runs from Ceyhan to Kozan. In the southeast corner of the fort's south bailey is a small Armenian church. According to a carefully carved inscription below the cornice of this basilica, the Rubenid Baron T'oros I built this structure for his ancestors.⁶ We learn from the chronicles that T'oros adorned the church with an icon of the Virgin which he plundered from a neighboring castle.⁷ If we can trust the chronology of Samuel of Ani, this structure may have been completed by 1111;⁸ it is certainly dated no later than the death of T'oros I in 1129. When Gertrude Bell visited this site in 1905 it was in an excellent state of preservation.⁹ By 1949 only part of the south wall had collapsed.¹⁰ Today the church lies in ruins, with only the southwest corner and the chevet standing to the level of the cornice (fig. 2).

We can attempt to reconstruct this church on the basis of the existing remains and from the information supplied by the four black-and-white photographs that were published by Bell. The walls consist of an inner and an outer facing of finely carved blocks of limestone. These are bound by a mortar and rubble core. The rubble consists of limestone fragments, potsherds, and scattered pieces of relief sculpture. The upper courses of ashlar are pseudo-isodomic. Frequently, the inner face of each block (i.e., the side that binds with the core) is as smoothly cut as the outer face. However, the thickness of individual blocks may vary, resulting in the concomitant expansion and contraction of the poured core (fig. 3). Thus, it is likely that the core was poured separately at each course-level. On the façades of the walls a few of the interstices show traces of mortar, but in most cases the blocks are flush. The average thickness of the walls of the nave is 77 cm. An individual block may be square

²I have excluded from consideration the so-called "grosse Armenische Kirche extra muros." E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer (*Meriamlik und Korykos*, MAMA, II [Manchester, 1930], 150–54) briefly discuss this structure, and without a formal survey of the entire basilica or inscriptional and literary evidence they credit its construction to the Armenians because its masonry is inferior to earlier Byzantine buildings. Yet my catalogue of Armenian churches reveals that they are carefully constructed with smooth ashlar. The choir and the posterior apses of this church *extra muros* are not Armenian in character, but are actually similar to the Mozarabic style (e.g., St. Michel du Cuxa), or even European Romanesque with its radiating chapels (e.g., the priory of St.-Gilles-du-Gard). Surprisingly, a Byzantine church near Korykos, identified as the "Querschiffbasilika extra muros" (*ibid.*, 111 ff.), has a chevet reminiscent of this so-called Armenian church. The origins of the "grosse Armenische Kirche extra muros" will remain an enigma until more evidence is forthcoming.

³For details on the plans of churches in Armenia proper the reader can begin by consulting the following: J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenien und Europa*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1918); A. Khatchatrian, *L'architecture arménienne du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1971); *Documents of Armenian Architecture*, 9 vols. (Milan, 1968–77); P. Cuneo, *The Basilicae of T'ux, Xncorgin, Pašvack', Hogeac'vank'*, *Studies on Medieval Armenian Architecture*, IV (Rome, 1973); also, there is an excellent series of articles by Jean Michel and Nicole Thierry, in *REArm*, n.s. 2–13 (1965–79).

⁴An identical technique was employed in Armenia proper, centuries earlier; see A. Berkian, *Armenischer Wehrbau im Mittelalter* (Diss., Darmstadt, 1976), 45–47; T. T'oramanyan, *Nyow'er haykakan čartarapetowt'yan patmowt'yan*, I (Erevan, 1942), 140 ff.

⁵These low-level niches are common in the church and chapels of Armenia proper. When one is facing the altar (east), the niche on the left traditionally serves as a small sanctuary for the chalice, while the one on the right is used for the storage of bread, wine, holy oil, and certain prayer books.

⁶For a translation of the inscription, see *infra*, note 21.

⁷Vahram of Edessa, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Documents Arméniens, I (Paris, 1869) (hereafter *RHC*), 499.

⁸Samuel of Ani, *RHC*, 448–49.

⁹G. Bell, "Notes on a Journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia," *RA*, 7 (1906) (hereafter Bell, "Notes"), 24–28.

¹⁰M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AnatSt*, 2 (1952) (hereafter Gough, "Anazarbus"), 125–27.

or rectangular with a length that fluctuates between 15 and 56 cm. and a height between 16 and 47 cm. Since all the stones in a particular course have an identical height, the visual effect of the walls is one of regularity and solidity.

The exterior of the west wall is articulated by a central door and two small windows. The door and the windows are in alignment with the centers of the nave and aisles (fig. 1). Today there is evidence of a thin square molding around the frame of the door (fig. 2). According to the descriptions of Bell and Gough, the west door was once surmounted by a lintel and a relieving arch of seven voussoirs.¹¹ The faces of the voussoirs were carved with four continuous tori that followed the curve of the arch in a concentric pattern. A scallop decoration was inserted in the tympanum. This curious combination of both reliefs created a cartwheel design. Gough has suggested, and I think correctly, that the voussoirs of the relieving arch were borrowed from a late antique structure in the city below.¹² The scallop decoration is a common Armenian motif and also occurs in the east wall of this church.¹³ The two windows that flank the door lack adornments. Their sills are about 2 m. from the current ground level. In 1905 a gable rested atop this west wall, and its center was pierced by one roundheaded window. Each of the corners formed by the junction of the west wall with the north and south walls is decorated with thin vertical stringcourses. This same motif occurs at the east end. One unique feature of this subtle molding turns up in the southwest corner, where only a single block is carved with leaves (fig. 2).

On the south side of this church the only door and window are not in alignment with the center of the posterior bays (fig. 1). The window is near the west end of this wall and is at approximately the same height as the two windows in the west wall. According to one of Bell's photographs, the door in the south wall was most elaborate.¹⁴ It included a lintel and a pointed relieving arch. The exterior of the door's jamb and the lintel were outlined in relief by three parallel torus moldings. As for the relieving arch, I was fortunate to locate one of its voussoirs amid the rubble that was once the south wall (fig. 4). The reliefs on the face of the voussoir consist of a series of moldings that include

intertwining vines, dentils, a Byzantine egg and dart, tongues, taeniae, a single helix and chain, and a reel and bead. It is clear that this arch, like the one in the west wall, was borrowed from the Greek city below.¹⁵ The span of the original arch was too large for the width of the south portal, and the Armenian masons in their hasty attempt to recycle such a treasure left out the springing stones and at least one other of the voussoirs. Two nineteenth-century travelers observed that this reduction converted the original Greek inscription of εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός on the full series of voussoirs to εὐλογεός.¹⁶

The exterior of the east wall is articulated masterfully with three squareheaded windows and two roundheaded niches (fig. 5). The windows correspond to the exact center of the apse and apsidioles. The sills of the windows in the apsidioles are 1.75 m. from the current ground level. Despite the damage to the center of the east wall, there are indications that the sill of the central window is 91 cm. from ground level. The exterior lintel of each of these windows has a delicately carved scallop shell. The radiating ends of the tori in these shells have been drilled to add a sense of depth. The lintel over the central window, unlike its counterparts in the apsidioles, is slightly oversized and extrudes into the space of the course directly above. It seems odd that the Armenian masons did not remove this block and cut it to size once they realized the problem of alignment. Instead, they adjusted the next course to fit around this block. Aesthetically, the oversized lintel draws the eye to the center of the façade. The space between the windows is filled in large part by the niches. From their bases to their slightly pointed tops they measure approximately 2.20 m. They are framed by a series of gently curving stringcourses. Unlike the west end, the east wall did not support a gabled roof. In the late 1940s Gough reported that the tiled roof at this end was hipped,¹⁷ but on the basis of a photograph that was published by Bell it appears that the roof on this side actually was tiered.¹⁸ From the edge of the east wall a hipped roof emerged and abruptly terminated over the ends of the apsidal semidomes; at this point there rose a gabled roof. In the center of the gable was a roundheaded window, probably corresponding in location and size to its counter-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 125–26; Bell, "Notes," 26–27.

¹² Gough, "Anazarbus," 126.

¹³ C. Bunt, "The External Niche in Armenian Architecture," *The Builder*, 122 (1922), 38–40.

¹⁴ Bell, "Notes," 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27–28. Bell is clearly mistaken in thinking that the Armenians executed this arch.

¹⁶ R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, Denk Wien, Philos.-Hist. Cl.* 44 (1896), 35–37.

¹⁷ Gough, "Anazarbus," 126.

¹⁸ Bell, "Notes," 26.

part at the west end. Thus, in allowing the roof over the chevet to follow the descending slope of the apsidal half domes the Armenian architects have revealed externally an important element in the internal organization of the church.

In three or four locations on the exterior of the east wall a few of the wide interstices have been plugged neatly with red brick tiles. The use of tiles in this manner occurs with somewhat more frequency on the interior of the church. In an area where the south wall has collapsed an exposed tile seems to bind directly to the core (fig. 6, lower right). Consequently, the occasional use of this red brick tile does not represent a later repair, but merely a hasty attempt by the masons to compensate for an ill-fitting block during the initial phase of construction.

The exterior of the north wall is the least complex. It probably was pierced by three square-headed windows, all of which were evenly spaced and slightly anterior to the center of the bays (fig. 1). In the easternmost window the exterior face of the lintel is decorated with a six-pointed star and flanking half rosettes. Like the windows in the south and west walls, the sills of the two flanking windows are about 2 m. from the present ground level. The central window in the north wall appears to be set much lower, but its exact position and size cannot be determined because of the poor condition of that wall. It is clear from my own work at this site that Bell erred in claiming that the only opening in the north wall was a door.¹⁹ With a combination of eleven windows and two doors the interior of this small church was washed with light.

One of the most important features of the facade is the monumental dedicatory inscription that once surrounded the perimeter of the church. The epigraph, which is carved on a single course, is separated from the roof by a double torus molding (figs. 2 and 5). This molding is limited in height to a single course and protrudes 5 cm. from the surface of the wall. The height of the inscriptional course is 41 cm. The epigraph is framed on the top and on the bottom by a single ovolo molding that is flanked on each side by a thin stringcourse (fig.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 25–27. A photograph in Bell's article (p. 25) shows, through the opening of the south door, the silhouette of a hole in the north wall. The top of this hole appears to be a lintel for a low-set window. It is impossible that such a narrow orifice could be a door. Gough ("Anazarbus," 126) assumed without stating his reasons that the central breach was a window. E. J. Davis (*Life in Asiatic Turkey* [London, 1879] [hereafter Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*], 148) simply noted the presence of three doors and made no mention of their location.

7).²⁰ Today only a few fragments of the inscription remain *in situ*. Fortunately, a large part of it was transcribed in the mid-nineteenth century.²¹ The references to the ancestors of T'oros are important for tracing Rubenid genealogy. In comparison with the other Armenian epigraphs in Cilicia this is without a doubt the most skillfully executed.

The interior faces of what remains of the north, west, and south walls are completely lacking in adornments. In places there is fragmentary evidence that these walls were plastered and frescoed. However, the simplicity of these walls belies the complexity of the chevet and the supporting structures. Internally, two freestanding square piers on each side of the nave support three longitudinal barrel vaults (fig. 1). The nave and the flanking aisles are covered individually by a vault. Each of the four piers is crowned by a simple chamfered impost upon which pointed arches rise to support a horizontal wall below the merging vaults.²² The arcades formed by these piers are supported on the west and east walls by twin pilasters. On the east wall the pilasters are formed by the salients that were created with the abutment of the central apse and the flanking apsidioles (figs. 3 and 6). All of the pilasters are constructed in the typical Armenian method of alternating blocks that have tapered posterior ends and are anchored by divergent wedges.²³ Directly above each impost for the piers and pilasters square notches are carved into the sides of the springing stones that support the pointed arches of the arcade. These notches probably anchored some sort of horizontal bar, which in turn supported a screen to divide the aisles from the nave.

²⁰ Because of severe damage, fragment H (fig. 7) has lost all traces of the moldings. Figure 2 shows *in situ* another fragment of the inscription.

²¹ V. Langlois, *Inscriptions Grecques, Romaines, Byzantines et Arméniennes de la Cilicie* (Paris, 1854), 14. Langlois' translation is as follows:

West façade, toward the end of the line: "Ceci est une mémoire. . . ."

South façade: "La très-sainte trinité. . . Théodore, fils de Constantin, fils de Roupène. . . ."

East façade: "Pour le salut de mes enfants, pour la mémoire de mes parents et pour la vie de mes enfants. . . par l'intercession. . . ."

North façade: . . .

West façade, beginning of the line: "Ceci est une mémoire d'Ochin, fils de Théodore, fils de Constantin; dans vos dignes prières en Jésus-Christ, notre Seigneur. Amen!"

²² Before the collapse of the vaults the only photograph taken of the interior was by Bell: "Notes," 28.

²³ F. Gandolfo, *Aisleless Churches and Chapels in Armenia from the IV to the VII Century*, Studies on Medieval Armenian Architecture, 2 (Rome, 1973), 170.

As on the exterior, finely coursed ashlar is used throughout the church's interior. The only anomaly in the masonry was reported in 1905,²⁴ when Bell noted that the vaults over the naves and aisles were constructed entirely of brick. Brick is seldom used in the Armenian buildings of Cilicia. At the Armenian chapel in Meydan Kalesi recycled brick is employed with alternating courses of stone in the semidome of the apse. Today these brick vaults have vanished completely from the Church of T'oros I. If, someday, excavations recover fragments of these vaults, then the precise nature of the construction technique can be determined. That some brick was used in the construction of the vaults is evident in the springing at the southwest corner of the nave and in the area directly above the semidome of the north apsidiole (fig. 3).²⁵

The most important elements in the church's interior are the apse and flanking apsidioles. The wall of the central apse is pierced by three openings. In the center is the thin, rectangular window that was discussed earlier. Its interior lintel is carved with a plain, shallow arch. There are no other incised decorations on this window either in the soffit or on the interior of the frame. Two roundheaded niches flank this window in the areas posterior to the salient piers. Above the niches and window a flat congé molding divides the apsidal wall from the springing stones of the half dome. The ends of this molding almost touch the extradi of the pointed vaults as these arches rise from the thickness of the salient piers (fig. 6). The semidome of the central apse is constructed in regular courses; joggled joints occur only in the terminal arch of this half dome. However, this does not disturb the aesthetic balance, since the entire apse, as well as the flanking apsidioles, is stuccoed and painted.

The only sizable remains of fresco are in the central apse. Below the congé molding, which is painted with foliage, there are the mutilated traces of at least seven life-size figures. Some flesh tones are still visible, and all of their heads are surrounded by yellow halos with thin, red borders. Interspersed between the figures are patches of blue pigment. Bell reported that the central figure on the semidome was "Christ in a dark robe sitting on a throne, his feet turned stiffly out."²⁶ Gough noted

that the "Christ Pantocrator" was flanked by two seraphim and "the four evangelists in their characteristic guise of the Apocalypse."²⁷ The lower torso and gown of the right seraph is still visible today (fig. 3). There is absolutely no trace of the figure on horseback that was seen previously at the west end of the south aisle.²⁸ According to Gough, the figures on the half dome are stylized in the "orthodox" Byzantine pattern and show how indebted Armenian ecclesiastical art is to Byzantine inspiration. Unfortunately, the present state of the frescoes does not allow us to confirm or refute Gough's observations.

Like the superstructure of the central apse, the flanking apsidioles are in a relatively good state of preservation. The single window in each chapel shows no trace of adornment, and there is no molding to divide the apsidal wall from its half dome. However, in the south apsidiole one small corbeled block projects from its north wall at the springing level of the apsidal dome (fig. 6). This block is carved in the shape of a volute. The south wall of the north apsidiole probably had a similar corbel, since there is a small, shallow hole in the corresponding location (fig. 3). These corbels are approximately 1 m. east of the end of the pilasters that were formed by the abutment of the central apse and apsidioles. The function of this attachment is unknown. At a point above the projecting volute the semidome of the flanking apsidiole is terminated. Directly above the end of this semidome the Armenian architects built a roundheaded diaphragm wall to carry a short vault at the same height as the apsidal arch over the central apse. The *base* of the short vault terminates at the same point on the pilaster as the semidome of the central apse. In the side of the apsidiole opposite the pilaster a short corbeled wall (figs. 3 and 6, far left) defines the interior space of the apsidiole (fig. 1). Beyond the space of the apsidiole the *upper section* of the short vault joins the longitudinal barrel vault over the aisle. The short vaults over the apsidioles do not create a flat top, since a third diaphragm wall is set over the end of the semidome of the central apse (figs. 2 and 3). This wall joins the semidome to the nave's barrel vault, which is set at a higher level. The small, roundheaded window that was mentioned earlier and is visible in Bell's photo pierces the diaphragm wall directly above the apex of the semidome and just under

²⁴ Bell, "Notes," 27; cf. Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, 148.

²⁵ This limited use of brick is paralleled in a few Byzantine churches outside Cilicia. One example in the Pontus region is the Geyikli Kilise; see D. Winfield and J. Wainwright, "Some Byzantine Churches from the Pontus," *AnatSt*, 12 (1962), 141.

²⁶ Bell, "Notes," 27.

²⁷ Gough, "Anazarbus," 127.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

the apex of the central barrel vault.²⁹ A small gable is placed atop this central diaphragm wall. The effect of this gable and the one at the west end is to create a gently sloping roof over the three longitudinal barrel vaults. As a result of this effort to raise the apsidal ceiling the tiered canopies of the apsidioles expand the vertical dimensions of what normally would be very confining areas.

From the present remains, this church represents one period of Armenian construction. The consistent execution and placement of the smooth ashlar masonry and the recurrence of tooling marks on the specific Armenian elements (e.g., the external and apsidal niches and the epigraph) and on the walls indicate that the facing stones were not borrowed, but were specifically cut for the church of T'oros I. The only *recycled* pieces are the sculptured relieving arches over the south and west doors and the brick tiles. To what extent the brick tiles were used cannot be determined. In regard to the smooth ashlar and its thin poured core, a masonry similar in size and execution is employed elsewhere in Armenian Cilicia. It appears at the church of the Constable Smbat in Çandır and in the upper-level buildings of Lampron.³⁰ This technique of employing smooth ashlar was not borrowed from the indigenous Greeks, but was brought by the Armenian migrants to Cilicia.³¹ Bell hypothesized that the church of T'oros I was built over a Byzantine foundation. There is no clear evidence in the present unexcavated structure to support this view. Recently, treasure hunters have quarried under the wall of the central apse, directly below the north apsidal niche (fig. 6). They revealed a type of masonry quite dissimilar in style from the smooth Armenian ashlar. The stones are nonangular and have rusticated faces with tapering sides. Their general dimensions vary greatly; the average length of these rounded stones is 19 cm. From the small section presently exposed it is impossible to determine the width or content of the core. Only formal excavations can ascertain whether the foundation of the rough masonry is a prior Byzantine structure or a socle built by the Armenians to support the fine ashlar.

Again, claims made by previous writers that the

church and a subterranean vault to the west contained the tombs of the Armenian kings are without support.³² In fact, the underground vault is barely visible today. I must agree with Hansgerd Hellenkemper that until new evidence is forthcoming we should regard this as the principal church of Baron T'oros I and no more.³³

Directly northwest of the church is a ruined oratory. Both Bell and Gough placed the location of this apsidal building 1 to 2 m. north of the church,³⁴ but my own survey indicates that the southeast corner of the chapel's apse almost merges into or abuts against the northeast corner of the church (figs. 1 and 3). From the present remains it is impossible to ascertain if the north wall of the church served as the south wall of the oratory. A separate south wall might seal off two of the windows in the north wall of the church. On the basis of surface rubble I have hypothesized on the survey the approximate length of the building and the location of its entrance. We can determine something about the nature of the oratory's construction by examining the apse. Presently, the apsidal wall stands to a height of 1.98 m. from current ground level. It is pierced in the center by one embrasured window; the splayed sill is embedded in the apsidal wall. If there were flanking niches on the interior, their location is not apparent in the sides of the shattered apse. As in the church, the poured-wall technique is used in the oratory. The quality of some of the interior facing stones is inferior to those on the exterior. On the interior of the apse small, poorly cut field stones are bound in a heavy mixture of mortar.³⁵ The poured core is wider than the one in the church and has less rubble and potsherds. At the west end of the north apsidal wall there is an abrupt change in the style of masonry but not in the consistency of the poured core. Here, the facing stones are well-hewn rectangular blocks which have slightly smaller dimensions than the ashlar of the church. These rectangular blocks are employed exclusively on the square exterior of the apsidal wall. Unlike the area of poorly cut field stones, the section of the well-hewn stones on the interior of the oratory's apse shows no external signs of plaster. It seems

²⁹ Bell, "Notes," 26–28; Gough, "Anazarbus," 127.

²⁹ Bell, "Notes," 26. Parts of the sill of the window are barely visible atop the apex of the semidome (figs. 2 and 3).

³⁰ The masonry of the church at Çandır is discussed specifically *infra*, p. 162 ff. For information on Lampron, see F. C. R. Robinson and P. C. Hughes, "Lampron-Castle of Armenian Cilicia," *AnatSt*, 19 (1969), 194 ff.

³¹ See *supra*, note 4.

³³ H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien* (Bonn, 1976) (hereafter Hellenkemper, *Burgen*), 276.

³⁴ Bell, "Notes," 24; Gough, "Anazarbus," 127. The oratory on my plan (fig. 1) is *not* drawn to an accurate scale in relation to the church.

³⁵ This masonry differs greatly in style from the courses of roughly cut stones in the foundation of the central apse.

that the builders of the oratory intended to stucco only the inner face of the apse.

Bell suggested that this ruined oratory represents a Greek chapel that was pulled down before T'oros I constructed his church.³⁶ Gough accepted this view and believed that the decorations of the demolished chapel became part of the filling material for the walls of the church. Specifically, Gough found a piece of painted basket capital in the core of the church's south wall.³⁷ However, I find the views of Bell and Gough in regard to the oratory to be untenable. It should be remembered that a piece of a basket capital, like any other architectural fragment, can be transported easily from the ancient city below. This is hardly proper evidence to claim the Byzantine origin of the oratory. Neither of the aforementioned authors explained why the Armenian princes and kings would tolerate for 250 years the crumbled remains of a chapel so close to their own church. Also, it was not the penchant of Byzantine architects in Cilicia to square off the apsidal end of a chapel. In fact, the well-hewn, rectangular masonry of the oratory does not resemble the Byzantine masonry that was identified by Gough in the surrounding castle.³⁸ I would like to suggest that the oratory is of Armenian construction. Because its masonry differs considerably in style from that of the church, it was constructed either before or after the completion of that building. It seems unlikely that the oratory was erected earlier, since the church was built during the first Rubenid occupation of Anavarza. The oratory was conceived as an addition to the church.

The internal plan of the church of T'oros I creates a problem of historical interpretation. As a hall-type church, the structure at Anavarza is not unique in the history of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture, but it is an anachronism. The hall plan was popular in Armenia proper until the seventh century, when the centrally oriented domed church came into dominance.³⁹ From the eleventh and twelfth centuries we have only a few examples of an Armenian hall plan. The obvious question is, what model did the Armenians of Cilicia rely on to construct the church at Anavarza? Geographically,

the closest Armenian paradigm is at Rumkale in the province of Edessa. Yet Hellenkemper has associated the foundation of Rum's church with the Patriarch Grigor IV, which means that it was constructed between 1173–93.⁴⁰ Since the church of T'oros I was built before 1129 the basilica at Rum cannot be the source of inspiration in Cilicia, although the reverse may be true. Cilicia itself has a long tradition of building hall churches. From the fifth to the sixth century the indigenous Greek population used such plans in the basilicas at Bodrum, Kardirli, Alahan (Church of the Evangelists), and Kanlıdivane.⁴¹ In fact, two sixth-century churches in the late antique city of Anazarbus were built with naves and flanking aisles.⁴² The form of the hall church endured in central and south Anatolia through the Middle Byzantine period.⁴³ While differences may be found in the shape of the apses or the nature of the vaulting among the Greek hall churches, the Armenian architects had a sufficient number of basic paradigms in Cilicia to construct the church for T'oros I. If the Armenians did copy the Cilician models, they may have been reviving unconsciously a style of church architecture which had been neglected in their mother country for four centuries. Still, there is one other equally possible alternative. The Rubenids may have erected their church at Anavarza with the intention of imitating earlier Armenian models for reasons that are obscure to us today.

Çandır – 37°03'/34°34' – The Church of the Constable Smbat

A second important baronial church is located 40 km. north of Mersin in the Taurus mountains. On a lofty plateau adjacent to the small village of Çandır [Armenian: Barbaron/Paperōn] is a fortress bearing the same name. At the northern edge of that outcrop are the ruins of a small basilica. According to an inscription in the south wall of this church, the Constable Smbat, the brother of King Het'um I, dedicated the building in 1251 in honor of his father.⁴⁴ When J. Gottwald visited this site in

³⁶ Bell, "Notes," 28.

³⁷ Gough, "Anazarbus," 127.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁹ S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (Norwich, 1969), 102; also consult the selections *supra*, note 4. The few hall plans that appear in Armenia proper after the seventh century are extremely difficult to date (e.g., the Church of Ourta); see N. and M. Thierry, "À propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du vilayet de Kars (Turquie)," *REArm*, n.s. 8 (1971), 210.

⁴⁰ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 59.

⁴¹ M. Gough, "Early Churches in Cilicia," *Byzantinoslavica*, 16 (1955), 201 ff.; *idem*, "Excavations at Alahan Monastery-Second Preliminary Report," *AnatSt*, 13 (1963), 105 ff.; Bell, "Notes," 5 ff. The church with a nucleus or domed center was also common in Cilicia; see G. Forsyth, "Architectural Notes on a Trip through Cilicia," *DOP*, 11 (1957), 227 ff.

⁴² Gough, "Anazarbus," 113–16.

⁴³ R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Kingsport, 1979), 420 ff.

⁴⁴ For a translation of the inscription, see *infra*, note 50.

the 1930s the entire west wall, the west section of the north wall, the roof, and all supporting structures were in ruins. When I conducted my own survey in 1979, the apsidal building directly south-east of the church was hardly visible, the west section of the south wall with its massive inscription was completely missing, and the north corner of the chevet was shattered (fig. 1). Unfortunately, Gottwald was one of the few modern explorers to visit this site and to publish his results.⁴⁵ His description of the church is painfully brief, but the two black-and-white photographs published with his article provide valuable information about the chevet and oratory. By combining this material with what we know from the present remains we can draw a more complete picture of the entire church.

As in the church of T'oros I at Anavarza, the masonry consists of an inner and an outer facing of well-cut rectangular blocks bound to a core of cement and rubble. In the area of the chevet the massive core assumes a certain degree of regularity, in that the rubble and the untrimmed stones are layered in courses (fig. 8). The average thickness of the walls surrounding the nave is 76 cm. The individual blocks of stone are similar in size to those at the church of Anavarza. The limestone at Çandır has the same pinkish grey tint. However, the walls at the Church of the Constable Smbat are constructed with greater care than those at Anavarza. The exterior seams of all blocks are flush, showing no traces of mortar. Brick does not appear in this chapel. On the exterior of the church the faces of some blocks have a very thin boss with a drafted margin. On the interior the faces are smooth and polished to a very high degree. The visible masonry indicates that the present structure is the result of one building period.

From the remains it appears that the church has a rectangular plan externally. The façade does not have the same boxlike quality of the Church of T'oros I at Anavarza, since the trace of the north wall is indented to conform to the curvature of the cliff and the lateral walls of each apsidiole extend beyond the width of the nave. Little can be said about the nature of the north and west walls be-

cause of extensive damage in those areas (fig. 9). The proximity of the cliff rules out any possibility of a door in the north wall. At the west end of the church, where the escarpment turns sharply to the south, the north wall is abruptly terminated. If the adjoining west wall had a door, its position is impossible to determine because of the huge mounds of rubble and dirt which cover the site. A narthex or atrium at this end seems highly unlikely. Today there is no evidence of the cemetery which Gottwald sighted directly west of the church.⁴⁶

The exterior of the south wall of the nave is also the north interior side of an adjoining apsidal building. The apse of this building is attached to the salient face of the south apsidiole. In the photograph published by Gottwald⁴⁷ it appears that the apsidal vault is at about the same height as the semidome of the first level apsidiole (fig. 10). The wall connecting this apse to the south wall of the church had already collapsed by the 1930s. Gottwald reported that the interior of the small apse had frescoes. Hellenkemper believes this structure to be a lateral narthex,⁴⁸ but I tend to agree with Gottwald, who classed this apsidal building as an auxiliary chapel. He also believed that this particular "Seitenkapelle" was constructed after the church.⁴⁹ Yet the continuity in masonry between the auxiliary chapel and the church and the smoothness with which the northeast corner of that chapel merges with the salient wall of the south apsidiole force me to conclude that they are contemporary. It is on the interior side of this junction that I located a large cross in relief (fig. 11). Of the two projecting borders which frame this cross the outermost is carved with an interlacing string pattern. Despite the ravages of vandalism and fire, enough of the cross has survived to make it the finest known example of Armenian relief sculpture in Cilicia. The cross is similar in type to the *xač'k'ars* at the Gełard (Soviet Armenia).

According to Gottwald, vaults rose from the center of the south wall of the church which carried the roof over the auxiliary chapel. Three massive corbels once projected from the center of the south wall. Two of the corbels flanked the south portal; the third is barely visible in the corner formed by the salient wall of the south apsidiole and the south

⁴⁵ J. Gottwald, "Die Kirche und das Schloss Paperon in Kilikisch-Armenien," *BZ*, 36 (1936), 86–100. Hellenkemper (*Burgen*, 237–40) did not visit this site but merely relied on the findings of Gottwald. It is unclear whether G. Alishan (*Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* [Venice, 1899], 72 ff.) and Davis (*Asiatic Turkey*, 43 ff.) ever explored this site or relied only on the brief accounts of Sibilian and Anketill. None of these explorers discussed the architecture in detail.

⁴⁶ Gottwald, *op. cit.*, 93.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. III, fig. 7.

⁴⁸ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 238.

⁴⁹ Gottwald, *op. cit.*, 93–95. The possibility that this auxiliary chapel is part of a *gavit* should not be ruled out.

wall of the nave. The westernmost corbel is missing today. The east corbel of the south door is carved with superimposed torus decorations (fig. 12) and probably supported adjoining groin vaults. Contrary to the assertions of Gottwald, these vaults only carried a part of the roof over the auxiliary chapel. The exact nature of the chapel's supporting structure lies in the unexcavated rubble on the floor.

Between the chapel and the nave of the church the Armenian masons constructed a very elaborate arched passage. A delicate series of contiguous notches with dentated upper rims and incised half-rosettes is carved on the chamfered face of the limestone voussoirs that crown the south side of the nave portal (fig. 12). This decoration continues down the edge of the piers. A strapwork pattern in relief covers the alette of the door like a thin web of sculptured lace. Because of extensive damage it cannot be determined if the north face of the nave portal possessed similar reliefs. The twelve square meters of wall space between this portal and the western corner of the south wall were once occupied by a monumental dedicatory inscription.⁵⁰ Today the epigraph survives only in a few photographs.⁵¹ The inscription, which covered at least eleven courses of stone, rose from just above ground level to the height of the corbels. The single row of letters within each course was framed by a thin, flat strip of stone in relief. The raised letters here were somewhat rigid, and they lacked the delicate flowing movement of the characters in the epi-

graph at Anavarza. This inscription at Çandır and the complicated reliefs adorning the exterior face of the south wall stand as testimony to the great monetary and artistic investment of the builder.

The exterior of the east wall of the church is flat and uncomplicated (fig. 8). Due to the partial collapse of the facing stones, only the exterior surface of the embrasured window in the central apse is visible. This window is roundheaded and topped by a curved torus molding, which is a common motif in Armenia proper. The sill of the window is slanted downward toward the interior of the apse. It is 91 cm. from the sill to the apex of the window. Each first-level apsidiole has a single roundheaded window of approximately one half the dimensions of the central window. The window of the central apse is placed in the wall at a higher level than the windows of the apsidioles.

Although much of the internal layout of the church is a mystery, we can partially reconstruct the east end, since the south half of the chevet is standing today. The interiors of the central apse and the apsidioles are conspicuous for their simplicity. There is no trace of plaster or fresco on the apsidal walls. The only relief decoration on the interior of the church is the course of dentils in the cornice molding that separates the apsidal wall from the semidome of the central apse.⁵² Directly posterior to the apsidal wall of each apsidiole is a small barrel-vaulted chamber. The width of the chamber in the lower-level north apsidiole is somewhat greater than the width in the south apsidiole. Today the significance of this arrangement is unknown. Both chambers measure 2.27 m. from the floor to the center of the vaulted ceiling. The floor level of these apsidioles is about 1 m. below the floor of the central apse. Above the level of these ground-floor apsidioles there are matching apsidioles covered by tall barrel vaults (fig. 10). Like their first floor counterparts, the apsidal walls are pierced by a single roundheaded window.⁵³ In the south apsidioles the upper chamber has the same length and width as the lower chamber. Access to the apsidiole of the upper level was probably by a small staircase which was situated over the vaulted entrance to the first level in the thickness of the wall. The south apsidioles show some indirect evidence for a stairway in the west wall of the apsidal chambers, in that facing stones abruptly mark off

⁵⁰Gottwald (*ibid.*, 95–97) published Akinian's revised translation of the inscription on this "Sühnekirche":

Dieser Tempel wurde gebaut als Wohnort der einigen Dreieinigkeit, als Gott empfangendes Haus und Tisch, als Gebetsort und Reinigungsstätte (Purgatorium) der Sünden derer, die glauben, dass hier um Reinigungsarzney zu bitten ist.

Unter diesen befindet sich mein glorreicher Bruder Hethum, König von Armenien.

Ich besass dies als Eckstein und Heiligtum, indem ich es mit grossem Aufwand bauen liess, ich Smbat mit Namen, der Armenier,

Herr dieser väterlichen Burg und Connétable des Heeres. Ich bitte euch alle einmütig, dass ihr beten und (aller) meiner Eltern gedenken wollet:

des grossen Fürsten Konstantin, des Bruders, des Sohnes und der Verwandten.

Und der reichlich Schenkende möge (euch) geben (?). [Im Jahre 700]

in der grossen Ära, [habe ich, der elende Smbat] aus dem hohen Geschlechte der Rubeniden [geschrieben] diese Worte,

damit ihr meiner gedenket nach dem Tode.

The Armenian year 700 is equivalent to A.D. 1251.

⁵¹The only published photo of any quality is in the article by Gottwald, *ibid.*, pl III, fig. 7.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pl. IV, fig. 8.

⁵³*Ibid.*

the north extension of that wall. This may indicate that the north side of the west wall was the interior of a stairwell. It also seems likely that the path of the stairs had to turn toward the interior of the church to avoid blocking the entrance to the first-floor apsidiole. Because the west walls of these apsidal chambers continued to the height of the second floor, there is no possibility that the second level was part of a tribune. It appears that the semi-domes of the upper apsidioles are at a higher level than the half dome of the central apse (fig. 9). Just how the Armenian engineers compensated for this is unknown; there is no evidence of a diaphragm wall over the central apse.

The manner in which the chevet was integrated into the nave is open to a number of possible interpretations. Gottwald and Hellenkemper both believe that the church of the Constable Smbat may have a design that is similar to the church built by T'oros I at Anavarza.⁵⁴ This would imply that the nave was divided longitudinally by piers aligned with the choir walls. The two arcades would in turn support barrel vaults. However, the south aisle created by an arcade in Çandır's church would be extremely narrow, and neither aisle would have a view into or be aligned with the center of the apsidiole because of the wall and the barrel-vaulted door which act as the western terminus for each first-floor apsidal chamber.

Another possibility is that the church at Çandır is one of the *domed hall* buildings. In this type of church a large cupola is placed over the nave area and supported by four massive vaults which stand at right angles to each other. The Church of St. Gregory at Goşavank⁵, which was also constructed in the thirteenth century, is a fine example of this *domed hall* type.⁵⁵ Like Çandır, it has four flanking apsidioles at two levels; the two first-floor chapels are below the level of the central apse. The areas around the central drum have gabled roofs. If this were the sort of building constructed for the Constable Smbat, then at least two large pilasters would have to be found in the body of the nave, assuming of course that the two western walls of the apsidal chambers served as the corresponding pilasters.

This same arrangement of pilasters could carry an alternate type of covering, the single barrel vault.

The Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, also at Goşavank⁵, relies on this method of support.⁵⁶ Here the single vault is divided in the center by a transverse arch. A single gabled roof covers the vault. Only formal excavations at the church of the Constable Smbat can determine which of these three methods of support were used.

CHAPELS

The second major class of ecclesiastical architecture in the fortifications of Armenian Cilicia is the *Chapel* (figs. 13 and 1).⁵⁷ The plan for this chapel is not unique to Armenian Cilicia, but it was employed in Armenia proper as early as the fourth century.⁵⁸ With minor variations this design made its way to northern Europe during the eleventh century.⁵⁹ The Armenian chapel of Cilicia consists internally of a simple rectangular nave which terminates at the east with an apse.⁶⁰ The center of the apse is pierced normally by one embrasured window. As in the Armenian church in Cilicia, the north and south walls of the apse have low niches. Frequently, a niche will appear in the north wall of the nave (and occasionally in the south wall) near the junction with the apse. Because the diameter of the apse is always less than the width of the nave, small salient corners are created which define the length of the nave. In all but one case the semi-dome of the apse is separated from the apsidal wall by a cornice molding. The upper walls of the nave do not continue this molding, but they are often dotted with joist holes. These perforations supported the original cross beams of the centering. Judging from the fragmentary pieces of wood embedded in these holes, the cross beams were left in position to add stability to the walls. There is no

⁵⁴ Also compare the Church of St. Gregory at Hałpat.

⁵⁷ Two of the nineteen chapels discussed in this category have been reclassified as Byzantine. The distinction between Armenian and Byzantine chapels in Cilicia is outlined in the discussion of Korykos. Of the seventeen extant Armenian chapels, four (Meydan, Çem, Maran, and Ak) are in sites that have neither inscriptions in their immediate vicinity nor any mention in the medieval chronicles. It is on the basis of design and masonry, as well as the presence of Armenian coins and pottery, that I credit a fortification and its chapel to the Armenians. The chapels at the forts of Amuda and Silifke will not be considered here, since the former is a box-like chapel of German construction (see Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 123 ff.), and the latter is barely visible in outline.

⁵⁸ Gandolfo, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 23), 139 ff.

⁵⁹ E. Bachmann, "Kunstlandschaften im romanischen Klein-kirchenbau Deutschlands," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8 (1941), 163 ff.

⁶⁰ In the opinion of this author the slight rotation of the apsidal ends of the chapels to the northeast or the southeast (figs. 1 and 13) has no special significance.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 93 ff.; Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 238.

⁵⁵ *Goshavank*, Documents of Armenian Architecture, 7 (Milan, 1974), 6 ff. The church at Çandır may be similar in plan to a church at Vaspurakan, which Thierry calls the "Couvent Saint-Hizdbouzit de Toukh"; see J. M. Thierry, "Monastères arméniens du Vaspurakan VI," *REArm*, n.s. 9 (1972), 150–53.

evidence that they were plugged with masonry. In those chapels which have at least a standing foundation of walls, two doors (and sometimes three) are evident, usually in the west and south walls of the nave. With the exception of one chapel at Korykos, the small nave is topped by a barrel vault of stone. A gabled roof appears to be the only type of covering employed over the barrel vault and semidome.⁶¹ The masonry of the chapels varies from finely carved ashlar to small, less carefully hewn blocks. As in the churches, a poured core of limestone mortar and rubble separates and binds the inner and outer facing of stone.⁶² Excepting Çardak, all of the medieval chapels discussed in this paper show only one period of construction.

When these chapels are unattached structures their exterior walls are flat and rectangular.⁶³ In the two cases where the chapel protrudes through the castle wall (Savrandı and Maran, figs. 1 and 14) the exterior of the apse is rounded to form a small tower in the eastern circuit. At ground level the exterior of the apse becomes indistinguishable from the other salients in the wall. The possibility that battlements crowned these apsidal structures should not be ruled out. It is interesting to note that at Mancılık, where the apse of chapel J penetrates the interior wall separating the upper from the lower bailey, the salient section of the outer apsidal wall has no real military value and is left rectangular (fig. 15). In two other chapels (Meydan and Çem, fig. 13) the apsidal wall abuts against or is incorporated into the eastern circuit. This arrangement provides the wall with an internal buttress but appears to have no other military value.

Savrandı – 37°07' / 36°28'

The fortress of Savrandı [Armenian: Saruandı k'ar] stands in the north half of the Nur Dağları as the principal guardian of the Amanus pass. Prince Levon began the first period of Armenian occupation at this Byzantine site in the 1130s.⁶⁴ Throughout most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it remained in Armenian hands. The shattered remains of an Armenian chapel protrude through the east wall of the lower bailey (fig. 1). Whether the chapel dates from the earliest pe-

riod of the Armenian occupation or was constructed after the devastating earthquake of 1268/69 is unknown.⁶⁵

The only type of masonry used in the construction of this chapel is a roughly hewn ashlar. The length and height of an individual block vary from 12 to 33 cm. The courses are rather irregular in the nave but consistent in the apsidal wall and in the few remaining sections of the springing level in the semidome. The Armenian masons faced the exterior of the apsidal wall with a well-cut, rusticated masonry to match the rest of the circuit wall. This rusticated stone frequently has drafted margins and averages 38 cm. in length and 22 cm. in height.

Today only parts of the foundation of the nave are visible. The number and the exact placement of the doors are not apparent. Hellenkemper has speculated that a door was present in the west wall.⁶⁶ A door in the south and north walls is also possible. The interior of the apsidal wall is articulated by the traditional splayed window and lateral niches. The lower section of a third niche is present in the north wall of the nave. About 2 m. north of the nave are pieces of a wall that run perpendicular to the circuit wall. The large amount of rubble which lies between the chapel and this perpendicular wall may indicate that the two were connected at one time.

Ak – 37°33' / 36°22'

About 2 km. southeast of the town of Andırın is a castle called Ak. Its original Armenian name and date of construction are unknown. The chapel is isolated on a rock in the northern part of the castle. Only the apsidal and south walls stand today (fig. 13).

Three types of limestone masonry are used in this chapel. All of the exterior walls and most of the interior walls in the apse and nave consist of rough, poorly cut field stones that are bound in a mixture of rock chips and mortar (figs. 16 and 17). These stones are set in regular courses and vary in length from 9 to 41 cm. The second type of masonry occurs between the springing course of the semidome and the cornice molding of the apsidal wall. Here there is a single row of large, uniformly smooth ashlar. Today two complete blocks and two fragments rest *in situ*. An undamaged block is 44 cm. long and 19 cm. high. These blocks probably

⁶¹ The occurrence of a gabled roof is frequent in the small chapels of Armenia proper. Compare, for instance, the "Couvent Saint-Jean de Theghout"; see Thierry, "Monastères," 146–48.

⁶² See *supra*, note 4.

⁶³ The only exceptions are the two Armenian chapels at Korykos.

⁶⁴ Alishan, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 45), 238.

⁶⁵ Gregory Abū'l Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), *The Chronography*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), I, 448.

⁶⁶ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 114.

were borrowed from a nearby structure. A third type of masonry is present only in the foundation of the apsidal wall and the south wall of the nave. It is simply a conglomerate of mortar and crude stones. Only in a few places do the faces of the stones show through this cement-like mass. Because of the similarity between the poured core and the mortar of this third type of masonry, the latter does not represent an earlier building period. No doubt the third type was used as a socle to bring all the walls to an even level.

The exterior of the chapel is fairly uniform in appearance (fig. 16). In the northeast and southeast corners the Armenian masons used quoins to join the walls. In all of the buildings discussed in this paper this is the only site where quoins are employed. On the top of the south wall parts of a springing course for the nave vault still remain. The threshold of a door is present in the south wall. A second door probably stood in the west wall of the nave.

On the interior we have the remains of three niches. Apart from the two apsidal niches, a third niche is located in the south wall of the nave (fig. 17). Because of damage to the north wall it is impossible to determine if there was a corresponding niche there. In the apse the semidome rises on a cornice which has a small ovolo molding in the center. The apsidal wall shows large traces of stucco, some of which is covered by a dark blue pigment. On the south side of the apse most of the salient corner that was created by the variance in the width of the nave and the apse has fallen away. Only a stepped portion of the corner at the bottom of the socle is present today. On the north side the salient corner extends 11 cm. westward beyond the course of the south salient. Since the semidome of the apse is set precisely over the south salient this means that either the apsidal dome was more than 180° (in order to meet the end of the north salient) or the north salient was outside the perimeters of the semidome. This asymmetry probably was due to hasty construction.

Çardak – 37°03'/36°24'

Approximately 12 km. east of Osmaniye in the mountains near the Amanus pass is a fortification that surrounds the entire top of a precipice. Today the local Turks call it *Çardak* or *Gavur*. There is some reason to believe that this site is the medieval castle of *Hamus*.⁶⁷ *Hamus* changed hands numer-

ous times between the Byzantines, Armenians, and Mamluks. It was partially destroyed in 1268/69 by an earthquake. While parts of the circuit wall have certain Byzantine features, the freestanding chapel is distinctively Armenian in design and character.⁶⁸ The chapel is located in the center of the castle. Except for the collapse of the apex in the vault over the nave the superstructure is well preserved (fig. 13).

Two types of masonry are employed in the construction of this chapel (figs. 18 and 19). The north door, the four niches, the apsidal window, and the semidome are built with a smooth ashlar. The length of an individual block may vary from 18 to 46 cm. and the height from 12 to 39 cm. Only the exterior interstices of the blocks in the semidome show mortar. The other form of masonry, used throughout the chapel, is a poorly hewn, rectangular stone. The general dimensions of this masonry are slightly smaller than the smooth ashlar. This latter type of masonry has irregular interstices that are filled with an abundance of rock chips and mortar.

The exterior of the chapel is rectangular and completely lacking in adornments. Except for a hole at the west end, the four walls stand to their original height of 3.39 m. from the present ground level. Parts of a gabled roof still cover the barrel vault on the southwest side of the chapel. Today the chapel is surrounded by a thick forest of pine trees.

The nave is entered by a door in the north and west walls (fig. 19). Most of the west door has collapsed, but parts of its south soffit are still visible. A single, embrasured window is placed above this door. The door in the north wall, which is reminiscent of the chapel at *Kız*, is framed by smooth ashlar. The walls of the nave and the apse were once stuccoed. In the north and south sides of the barrel vault over the nave there are four clay pipes that slant toward the interior of the chapel. These pipes are located about 22 cm. above the springing course and are not used for drainage or light. Their only apparent function is to convert the spandrel cavities, that were formed between the extradi of the barrel vault and the gabled roof, into acoustical resonators. The nave has two niches near the junction with the apsidal wall (fig. 18). The height, width, and depth of the north niche are 96, 44, and 32 cm., respectively; the dimensions of the south niche are larger, at 125, 56, and 46 cm. The niche in the north wall is roundheaded and has a monolithic

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶⁸ The differences between Armenian and Byzantine chapels in Cilicia are outlined in the section on *Korykos*, *infra*.

base in which a trench and a drainage hole have been hollowed out. On the south side of this niche base is a protruding scallop shell, similar in style to the decoration on the church of T'oros I at Anavarza. This niche may have been a piscina. The niche in the south wall of the nave is squareheaded and badly damaged. The salient corners that divide the apsidal wall from the nave are shattered.

In the apse two roundheaded niches flank the embrasured window. The height, width, and depth of the two niches are identical at 75, 46, and 42 cm. The springing course for the apsidal dome abruptly begins at the top of the embrasured window, and a cornice molding is completely absent. This may indicate that after the collapse of the original semidome (perhaps due to the 1268/69 earthquake) the Armenian masons intentionally reduced the volume of a new semidome and switched to a better masonry to prevent another misfortune.

Mancılık – 36°47'/36°19'

Today Mancılık Kalesi [Armenian: Neghir?], which stands on a precipitous spur in the west side of the Nur Dağları, is covered with thick vegetation. This site can be reached by hiking east from the village of Rabat for one hour.

Within the castle the structure identified by Hellenkemper as the "Burgkapelle" (C, fig. 15) is barely visible.⁶⁹ It is the upper level of a long rectangular chamber which has a rounded end at the southeast. Unlike the apse in Armenian chapels the diameter of the semicircular area is the same as the width of the room; the division between nave and apse is absent. There is no evidence of a window or niches in the circular end, which also seems to have some special relationship to the adjoining tower at the southeast.⁷⁰ Until formal excavations are completed I am not inclined to view this structure as a "Burgkapelle."

The only recognizable chapel within the complex of Mancılık is incorporated into the thin wall which divides the upper and lower baileys. Unfortunately, only its apse survives (J, fig. 15). The masonry of the chapel is the same type that is used in the walls of the castle, a smooth ashlar. The average length of a limestone block is 35 cm. and the average height is 18 cm. There are visible traces of mortar in the interstices.

The exterior of the apse is rectangular and has

no trace of decoration. On the interior there are the remains of an embrasured window and at least one flanking niche in the north side of the apsidal wall. It is unlikely that a second niche was located in the south wall of the apse. There are no traces of the apsidal semidome. It is unknown whether the chapel was completed at the time the dedicatory inscription was placed over the castle's gatehouse door in 1290.

Çem – 37°33'/36°02'

North of Mehmetli near the tiny village of Katarlı Köyü is a large castle known as Çem.⁷¹ Adjoining the southeast wall of the lower bailey are the remains of a small chapel (fig. 13). Today the interior of the chapel is covered with foliage and the mass of rubble that was created by the collapse of the walls and barrel vault (fig. 20). Only the southwest corner of the nave and the north half of the apsidal wall stand to more than 1 m. in height.

Two distinct grades of masonry are used at this site. The first is a large, smoothly cut ashlar. The length of its square or rectangular sides varies from 26 to 61 cm. This stone is used to frame the doors, window, and niche and also for the salient ends of the apsidal wall. A thin line of mortar is visible in the interstices of these blocks. The second type of masonry is a rusticated stone that is bound in regular courses by thick margins of mortar. This class of masonry shows the same variation in size as the smooth ashlar and appears as the principal facing stone not only for the chapel but for the circuit walls of the castle as well.

Because the chapel is damaged so extensively, little can be said about the composition of the nave. The thresholds of two doors are evident in the south and west walls. Just north of the west door lie two elongated voussoirs. The exteriors of both voussoirs are articulated with broad torus moldings and two taeniae. It is likely that the voussoirs were part of the frame for the door. There is the possibility that a third door in the north wall led to an adjoin-

⁷¹ This site was mentioned briefly by H. Th. Bossert and U. B. Alkim (*Karatepe, Second Preliminary Report* [Istanbul, 1947], 9 ff.) in their survey of north Cilicia. Hellenkemper (*Burgen*, 216) has suggested two possible choices for the medieval name of this castle-Gem and Ariučpert. However, Ariučpert may be more appropriate for a castle near Amuda (see T. S. R. Boase, ed. *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* [New York, 1978], 154). Ariučpert is referred to only once in the medieval chronicles (Constable Smbat, *RHC*, 618), and its exact location is a mystery. Unfortunately, the Greek inscriptions on Çem's gatehouse were spoils which the Armenian masons borrowed from the neighboring Byzantine city; they tell us nothing about the date of the Armenian castle or chapel.

⁶⁹ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 106. *Mancılık* is the alternate spelling.

⁷⁰ The "Sockellage" sighted at the east end of this building by Hellenkemper was not visible in June 1974 or August 1979.

ing structure. Rubble and the thick undergrowth in this area restricted the survey.

The center of the apse is pierced by a square-headed, embrasured window. The only niche which is identifiable is located high in the north wall of the apse. Unlike the walls of the nave, the apse is stuccoed.

Anavarza (central bailey) – 37°15'/35°54'

Approximately 470 m. northeast of the church of T'oros I is a building which conforms to every specification for an Armenian chapel. This chapel is in an excellent state of preservation with the walls standing to their original height. Most of the barrel vault over the nave has collapsed. We have no precise evidence to date this structure, but it probably belongs to one of the major building periods at Anavarza in the twelfth century.⁷² Unfortunately, circumstances did not permit a formal survey of this building. The following description is based on hastily composed field notes.

As with many of the Armenian chapels, two types of masonry are evident. The doors, niches, and windows are framed in the smooth ashlar also present on the interior of the nave and in the upper half of the exterior facing. The other structural elements in the chapel are built with the same well-cut, rusticated blocks which predominate as facing stones in the circuit walls.

The exterior of this freestanding chapel is rectangular and has little decoration. The nave is opened by two roundheaded doors in the south and west walls. The west door is flanked by two niches. At the east end there are the remains of a gabled roof.

On the interior the central window in the apse is roundheaded. There is a niche on each side of the apsidal wall.

Maran – 37°49'/35°51'

The castle of Maran lies in the heart of the Taurus mountains about 20 km. west of the modern village of Feke. Within the complex of the castle the chapel (C, fig. 14) is lodged in the eastern circuit wall between entrances A and G. The central location of the chapel takes on more importance since its apse is the second largest salient in the east wall. At present there is no way to date the site at Maran.

⁷²Gough, "Anazarbus," 122.

Today the chapel is in a relatively good state of preservation. All of the walls stand to at least 1 m. in height. The southwest corner of the nave reaches to the level of the springing course of the vault (fig. 21). Taking into account the rubble on the floor of the nave, it appears that the entire chapel was constructed in regular courses of well-hewn ashlar. The length and height of a limestone block may vary from 20 to 50 cm. The interstices of some of the blocks show traces of mortar and occasionally rock chips. On the exterior of the chapel many of the stones have drafted margins. This type of facing is seen on the circuit wall of the castle (fig. 21, left of center). On the interior the frames around the niches and doors are stippled, but smooth in comparison with the rest of the interior masonry (fig. 22).

The doors in the south and west walls of the nave are similar in design to those of the chapel in Meydan Kalesi (figs. 33 and 22). Six voussoirs form a vault over Maran's south door. The interiors of both doors are limited by jambs. There is a single roundheaded niche in the northeast corner of the nave. Typically, the apse has two roundheaded niches and an embrasured window (fig. 23). The monolithic sill of the window is still *in situ*.

Sis – 37°27'/35°48'

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Sis served as the capital of Armenian Cilicia. The remains of its great castle lie just southwest of the modern Turkish city of Kozan. About 250 m. below the level of the castle at the northeast end of the fortress-outcrop is a lower fortified terrace.⁷³ At the north end of this terrace is a rectangular keep (A, fig. 24), which is constructed with the same rusticated masonry as the castle above. In the central and south sections of the terrace wall this masonry is surmounted by other types. No doubt this is an indication of later reconstruction. At the south end of this terrace are the remains of three large chapels (E, F, and G, fig. 24).⁷⁴

Chapels E and F are extensively damaged and

⁷³E. Lohmann (*Im Kloster zu Sis* [Striegau, 1905], 2) published an excellent photograph of the lower terrace, but no description; see Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 210; and Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, 154–56.

⁷⁴Although buildings F and G are larger than the other chapels in this category, they are included in this group because of the simplicity of their naves and apses. There is a distinct possibility that E and F together constitute the lower levels of the north apsidiole and central apse of the Church of St. Sophia. This church was built by King Het'um I (1240s) and was later recon-

only parts of their apsidal walls and naves stand to two or three courses in height (fig. 25). Both chapels are constructed with a large, perfectly cut ashlar. The average length of these rectangular blocks is 68 cm. and the average height is 34 cm. Mortar is not used exclusively to join the stones; one course is coupled laterally to the next with dovetail clamps. The walls have no substantial core. The only fill material appears in the triangular space that was created at the junction of the two apses.

Chapel E has the bases of two niches; one is located in the north wall of the apse and the other in the north wall of the nave. Because of scant remains, windows, doors, and other niches are not visible. Directly west of this chapel the denizens of Kozan have constructed a reservoir for the city's drinking water.

None of the distinctive architectural elements are apparent in the apsidal wall of chapel F. Unlike chapel E, the rounded form of the apse of chapel F extends eastward beyond the vertical and horizontal planes of the chevet's rectangular frame (fig. 26). Just north of the center of the apse three square notches have been incised onto the face of a block (fig. 25). The central notch measures 24 cm. on its side. The side on the two small flanking notches is 8 cm. The function of these shallow indentations is unknown. There are similar, less distinct notches in the south side of the apse. In the center of the apse below ground level is a rectangular chamber, perhaps a sepulcher. The length of this chamber runs across the width of the apse. At the southwest end of the wall that joins chapels E and F are the remains of a stairway which leads to this subterranean room. The perfect fusion of the masonry in this wall indicates that chapels E and F are the result of one building period.

Because this lower terrace slopes eastward, the Armenian architects constructed a massive platform at the east to insure that the apses were level with the naves (figs. 24 and 26). The chevet is set back from the end of the platform and only the exterior of the apsidal wall of chapel F touches the east edge. This terraced effect is mitigated by the presence of a talus directly east of chapel E. A similar talus on the north flank of chapel E is not depicted on the survey. This platform shows two distinct types of masonry. The first seven courses of

stone from ground level consist of a finely cut, rusticated masonry with drafted margins. This same type of masonry is ubiquitous in the castle complex. On the exterior face the average measurements of the rusticated blocks are 51 by 38 cm. There are visible traces of mortar in the interstices. The rest of the platform is constructed with a masonry that is identical to the apsidal walls of chapels E and F. This uniformly smooth ashlar with dovetail clamps is present nowhere else in medieval Cilicia, but it may represent a pre-fourteenth-century period of construction. The rusticated stone is certainly from the period of the Armenian kingdom.

Further complications arise with the presence of chapel G to the southwest. This structure is the only domed Armenian chapel that exists in modern Cilicia (fig. 27). This singularity may be due to the general destruction of chapels in the urban areas. Today only the apse and about three fourths of the south wall of the nave are standing. Externally, the chapel is rectangular with shallow indentations along the trace of the walls at the east and south. Just east of the chapel is a fragment of the circuit wall that once protected this terrace (fig. 28). This wall probably connected with the elevated platform of chapels E and F or perhaps with a missing extension of wall D. The apse of chapel G has no central window, but an apsidal niche is present in the north wall and one is likely in the south wall (fig. 29). The apsidal and nave walls were stuccoed and painted. The east half of the nave was covered by a cupola resting on pendentives. The rest of the nave may have been covered by a barrel vault. The exact course of the north wall of the nave is difficult to determine. The south wall of the nave is pierced by one broadly splayed, squareheaded window, which has an arched soffit on the interior side.

Like chapels E and F, chapel G presents a problem in respect to its masonry. Except for the pilasters, voussoirs, and cornice molding, the interior masonry is simply an aggregate of mortar and field stones. At times it is indistinguishable from the poured core. The few cut stones that are used on the interior are bound to the wall by an abundance of mortar (e.g., the south wall of the nave). The only hewn blocks of any quality are on the exterior of the south wall (fig. 28). The sizes of these blocks vary greatly, and most appear to be recycled. This poured aggregate technique required an elaborate centering. The extensive use of this type of ma-

structed by the Patriarch Kirakos (1810). Because the remains are fragmentary and unexcavated, E and F are described here as two separate units.

sonry is unknown in the large ecclesiastical structures of medieval Cilicia.⁷⁵ Unlike chapels E and F, this building may have been built after the fourteenth century, perhaps in association with the founding of a monastery by Patriarch Łukas in 1734.⁷⁶

Two other Armenian chapels stand above the fortified lower terrace in the castle itself. In all likelihood both date to one of the major periods of construction in the thirteenth century. One chapel is located on the central spur of the castle.⁷⁷ It is in complete ruin except for the apsidal wall (fig. 30). This wall is punctured by three widely splayed, roundheaded windows. There is no evidence of niches. A cornice molding which is decorated with two parallel ovoli supports the springing course for the apsidal dome. The walls were stuccoed and painted. In general, the masonry consists of rectangular blocks that measure on the average 35 cm. in length and 16 cm. in height. Mortar and rock chips are frequently used in the interstices. A few smooth ashlar blocks that are almost double in size to the rectangular stones frame the exterior of the three windows. It appears that this apse is located in the northwest corner of the trapezoidal building. This factor combined with the nature of the topography eliminates the possibility that this rounded corner is part of a staggered apse system. Because of the proximity of a fortified gate I would suggest that this apsidal building is part of a residential complex.

The other apsidal structure in the castle at Sis is located in the east wall of the southeast bailey. Here the apse of a chapel was fitted easily into the upper floor of a semicircular tower. Regrettably, the posterior section of the tower which contained the nave has collapsed. The apse has suffered severely from earthquakes, and only the bases of an embrasured window and flanking niches are visible today. There is no evidence of stucco on the apsidal wall. The masonry on the exterior of the tower is almost identical to the rusticated masonry that was described in the platform of chapels E and F. On the interior of the apse crudely cut stones are laid in

regular courses and held firmly in place by rock chips and mortar.

Yılan – 37°01' / 35°45'

On the plain of Cilicia between the cities of Adana and Ceyhan stands the most perfectly preserved Armenian castle, Yılan. Because a relief on the gatehouse of the castle has been associated with King Levon I, the site may date from the period of his reign (1198/99–1219).⁷⁸ However, this identification is far from certain, since the relief is badly damaged. The chapel, which is located near the southeast edge of the upper bailey, is in a poor state of preservation. Its barrel-vaulted roof has collapsed along with most of the southern and western walls (fig. 1). An expanding fissure in the north wall is hastening the complete ruination of the nave.

Four types of masonry are evident in this chapel. On the exterior of the apse large rusticated blocks are bound in regular courses by a white sandy mortar. On the average these stones measure 39 cm. in length and 28 cm. in height. The outer face of the nave is simply a mass of rough field stones and mortar with only a few courses of rusticated blocks added for stability. The interior walls and most of the apsidal dome are composed of poorly trimmed field stones which vary greatly in size (fig. 31). Rock chips and mortar fill their broad interstices. The window, niches, and the courses of stone directly above and below the cornice molding consist of smooth ashlar. These blocks are only slightly larger than the rough rectangular stones on the outside. The semidome and the walls of the nave show traces of stucco and pastel colors.

The exterior of the chapel is rectangular except for the apsidal area, where the topography has forced the architects to trim the north corner and round off the south corner. When viewed from the northeast the chapel resembles the prow of a ship. The west wall of the nave is pierced in the center by one door. In 1965 G. R. Youngs reported that remnants of a window were visible in this west wall.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ The occurrence of the aggregate in the medieval chapels is very limited. It appears in the socle of the chapel at Ak and in a section of the apsidal wall in the oratory of the church of T'oros I at Anavarza.

⁷⁶ See V. F. Büchner, "Sis," *EI* (Leiden, 1934), 455; Alishan, *op. cit.* (note 45 *supra*), 248; V. Langlois, "Voyage à Sis," *JA*, 5 (1855), 274–88 (cf. *idem*, *Voyage dans la Cilicie* [Paris, 1861], 387 ff.).

⁷⁷ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 213.

⁷⁸ J. G. Dunbar and W. W. M. Boal, "The Castle at Vahga," *AnatSt*, 14 (1964), 184; G. R. Youngs, "Three Cilician Castles," *AnatSt*, 15 (1965), 130.

⁷⁹ Youngs, *op. cit.*, 133. Hellenkemper (*Burgen*, 183) believes that two windows probably were present in the west wall. However, the photograph taken by J. Gottwald ("Burgen und Kirchen im mittleren Kilikien," *BZ*, 41 [1941], pl. III, fig. 5) does not show a window in the north part of the west wall. The exterior of this west wall and sections of the north wall appear to have been repaired with pieces of a discarded embrasured loophole.

A photograph taken by Gottwald in the late 1930s shows that a portal stood in the south wall of the nave.⁸⁰

On the interior all of the semidome over the apse is standing. This half dome is separated from the apsidal wall by a cornice with a cavetto string-course. In the center of the apse is a roundheaded, embrasured window that is flanked by two roundheaded niches (fig. 31). A similar niche is in the north wall of the nave.

Meydan – 37°31'/35°23'

Deep in the Taurus mountains near the town of Karsanti stands an impressive Armenian fortress. The best preserved chapel in all of Armenian Cilicia is situated on the eastern circuit wall of the south bailey. Miraculously, the collapse of the chapel's gabled roof did not destroy the barrel vault. Except for damage to the east façade (fig. 32) all of the walls are in excellent condition (fig. 13). There are no inscriptions to help us date this site.

The masonry of this building consists of three distinct types. On the interior a smooth ashlar predominates as the facing stone (fig. 33). The sides of these blocks average 49 cm. in length and 32 cm. in height. There are thin traces of mortar in the interstices. The only anomaly that sets this structure apart from other chapels is the brick which alternates with courses of limestone in the semidome of the apse (fig. 34). Each of the five courses of brick consists of three layers of tile bound in a mixture of mortar and pebbles. Brick appears nowhere else in this chapel. During all of my surveys in Cilicia I observed this reddish tile at only three other Armenian sites: in a cistern at Yılan Kalesi, in a few embrasures at Tumlu Kalesi, and at the church of T'oros I at Anavarza.⁸¹ The third type of masonry, which is used frequently throughout the castle, consists of massive, rectangular stones with rusticated facings. On the average, these well-hewn blocks are 64 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. Some of these stones, such as the monolithic lintels over the south and west doors, are cyclopean and measure almost 1.70 m. across (fig. 35). The regular courses of rusticated blocks are bound to a poured core with only a few rock chips appearing in the interstices. Because each block is

placed with such precision the walls are flat and have a slight batter.

The south wall of the chapel is pierced by one door that has a lintel and thin jambs. A shallow hole in the soffit of the lintel indicates that a swinging door was accommodated below. The face of the east wall conforms to the curvature of the circuit wall. The exterior frame for the roundheaded window in this wall is carefully executed (fig. 32). The inner edge of this frame is only partially chamfered. On the outside of the north wall the third course of stone above the current ground level projects outward like a long, horizontal corbel, as if to support some adjacent structure. Today there is no evidence on the surface of any building to the north of the chapel. The west wall is articulated by a door in the center and a roundheaded, embrasured window below the apex of the vault (fig. 33). This west portal is a complicated piece of construction. Like the south door it is framed by jambs. On the exterior the west door is topped by a massive lintel which in turn is surmounted by a tall relieving arch (fig. 35). The tympanum created by this arch is shallow and presently filled with coursed stones.

On the interior of the chapel the relieving arch and tympanum of this west door have been replaced by a depressed vault of seven well-fitted voussoirs (fig. 33). This vault covers the door and abuts against the monolithic lintel. The interior of the south door is constructed like the west portal with a depressed vault. The north wall of the nave is plain except for a niche with a pointed top. The base of the niche is about 1 m. from the current ground level. The height, width, and depth of the niche are 120, 60, and 47 cm., respectively. The nature and height of the nave floor are unknown, because treasure hunters are constantly probing the foundation; it appears that limestone blocks were also used there.

In the apse the two flanking niches are smaller than the niche in the nave, and their pointed tops are splayed (fig. 34). The roundheaded window between the niches is constructed askew. The height, width, and depth of the window are 158, 80, and 133 cm. A few traces of plaster are evident on the brick courses of the semidome. This half dome is separated from the apsidal wall by a simple tapered cornice. In turn, the nave vault is joined to this half dome by a transverse arch. In the soffit of this arch is a bronze ring which probably was used to support some sort of chandelier.

⁸⁰ Gottwald, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ Youngs (*op. cit.*, 115 ff.) has observed tiles on the interior of cisterns at Tumlu and Gökvelioğlu.

Kız (near Gösne) – 37°02'/34°37'

Southeast of Çandır and almost 10 km. north-east of Gösne are the chapel and cloister known as Kilissa Kale or Kız.⁸² I have included this building in my catalogue of chapels in Armenian fortifications because it is within a fortified cloister. Although it had a purely religious function, the cloister was placed on the flat edge of a projecting cliff, and its vulnerable northwest side was protected by a circuit wall and gate. The entire east half of the chapel is surrounded by a steep precipice. Today only the chapel's apse and the south wall stand to their original height. According to an inscription on the south wall this chapel was built as a retreat by Baron Constantine, the father of the Constable Smbat and King Het'um I, in 1241.⁸³ It was only ten years later that the Constable Smbat dedicated the church at Çandır to his father.⁸⁴

The close historical relationship between Kız and Çandır is also reflected in the masonry. The ashlar stones that are used at Kız are identical in size and quality to those in the church of the Constable Smbat at Çandır. The only apparent difference is that the exterior facing stones at Kız are smooth, and the rusticated blocks with drafted margins are confined to the lower courses of the wall (fig. 36).

With one exception this building conforms to the design characteristics of the Armenian chapels in fortifications (fig. 13). At the west end of the chapel are the fragments of an unusual square atrium which is entered from the south and west. It is unknown whether the atrium was covered partially by a wooden canopy. Its walls are too thin to support a barrel vault of stone. The badly damaged west door of the chapel which opened onto this court is proportionally wider than any other chapel door in Cilicia. This feature may be due to its processional nature. The exterior of this portal still retains fragments of a decorative torus molding. The south wall of the chapel is pierced by one roundheaded door. The width of the door is narrowed slightly on the outside by the jambs. At the springing level of this door's vault are square recesses which probably accommodated some sort of decorative lintel. On the exterior of the south wall between the door and the southeast corner of the

chapel is a large epigraph which covers about 4.60 sq. m. of wall space. Unlike the inscriptions in the churches at Çandır and Anavarza, the epigraph at Kız is not cut in relief, but is a thinly incised intaglio which is visible only at close range. A photograph of the entire inscription was published in 1905 by Ernst Lohmann.⁸⁵ Because the precipice which surrounds the chapel begins below the level of the south door it is impossible to approach the epigraph. At the base of the epigraph there are three diagonal sockets. They probably supported a wooden scaffold which was approached from the south door. Above the inscription at a point corresponding to the springing level of the barrel vault and semidome is a thin horizontal chase. This groove may have held a decorative wooden string course. This chase continues on the exterior of the east and north sides, where an identical second groove runs near the base of both walls at a point corresponding to the floor levels of the nave and apse. Elsewhere in Cilicia I have only seen this decorative technique used in the apartments at Çandır. The exterior of the east wall has no other features on its flat rectangular façade except for the narrow opening of the apsidal window. Today fragments of a gabled roof are present on the apsidal dome. Only the threshold of a door in the north wall is visible. Two sockets below this door once supported a scaffold; directly below the north portal is an abyss. In the earlier photos of Gottwald and Lohmann there was a small salient of masoned stone just northwest of the north portal.⁸⁶ In 1979 it was barely visible.

On the interior the south and west sides of the nave have no peculiarities or adornments (fig. 37), but along the north wall near the east end there is a fragment of an interlacing band of two tori (the relief is visible through the south door in fig. 36). About 1 m. below this relief and just east of the tree that is now growing in the core of the wall is a base of what may be a niche. The apsidal wall is articulated by a roundheaded window and two flanking niches. The window is splayed and has a stepped sill. Unlike the apsidal wall, the curved walls of the niches are stuccoed, and there are traces of blue and red frescoes. The hoods over the niches are pointed. A tapered molding separates the half dome from the apsidal wall. The semidome is constructed like other Armenian models in Cilicia with

⁸² Previous writers have not described accurately the location of this site; cf. Gottwald, "Burgen und Kirchen," 97; Boase, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 71), 169.

⁸³ For a translation of the lengthy inscription, see Gottwald, "Burgen und Kirchen," 99–100; and Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, 46–47.

⁸⁴ See *supra*, note 50.

⁸⁵ Lohmann, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 73), 20.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 (here Lohmann incorrectly labeled Kız as Lampron); Gottwald, "Burgen und Kirchen," pl. v, fig. 9.

concentric courses of polished ashlar that radiate from an oblong core in the center.

Korykos – 36°28'/34°10'

The harbor of Korykos [Armenian: Korikos], which lies northeast of Silifke, has a large fortified complex. In medieval times the fortification extended from the mainland along a dyke to an island castle that was just offshore. Since the dyke has disappeared, two separate forts were created. For the purpose of this paper I will refer to one as the *sea castle* (fig. 38) and the other as the *land castle* (fig. 39). Three chapels are located in the compound of the latter, and one chapel is in the former. It is frequently assumed that all four chapels are Armenian, but in my opinion only chapel C in the sea castle and chapel Y in the land castle can be Armenian.

The castles at Korykos are not basically Armenian in design. Two fragmentary Armenian inscriptions that were discovered in the sea castle credit its construction first to Levon I and then, strangely, to Het'um I.⁸⁷ In reality, both kings probably restored the earlier Byzantine fort on the island. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener believes that the sea castle was founded by the Byzantine admiral Eustathius.⁸⁸ The distinctive features of Armenian military architecture in Cilicia (e.g., rounded salients, a bent entrance, narrowly splayed arrow slits, and the rusticated masonry with drafted margins) are visible only in the castle's northwest circuit.⁸⁹ Except for minor repairs and the reconstruction of Gate I (fig. 39), most of the land castle is Byzantine in character. The tight, double trace of the walls and the rectangular and polygonal towers are ubiquitous features in large Byzantine forts.⁹⁰

As with the fortifications, the Byzantine chapels of Cilicia show peculiar characteristics in regard to their design and masonry. In the small chapels where a simple nave does not exceed 5 m. in length there is a single entrance, usually at the west. The rectangular façade is always broken by the rounded

shape of the protruding apse. On the interior, the barrel vault is frequently supported by a transverse arch in the center of the nave. The small chapel at Antiochia ad Cragum has the added support of relieving arches in the thickness of the nave wall.⁹¹ No niches are employed in the apse, but occasionally they appear in the nave at irregular locations. If an apsidal window is present, its sides are either straight or splayed so that the wider end is on the outside (as opposed to the Armenian manner). In comparison with the Armenian chapels, the Byzantine chapels consistently employ crude, irregular types of masonry or they recycle the stones from Roman buildings. The Byzantine facing stones are bound in a thick matrix of mortar. Sometimes the cores are not fused with mortar, but consist of dry rubble. In some cases the walls are relatively thin and have no core at all.

In the Byzantine chapels of Cilicia where the length of the nave exceeds 5 m. there are certain additional features.⁹² The nave may be opened by doors in the north and south walls. Frequently, the perimeter of the apse is not sharply defined, since the nave has the same width. Niches seem to be common in the walls of the nave but not in the apse.⁹³ Also, external buttresses are employed at regular intervals along the walls.

Within the confines of the land castle at Korykos buildings U and X conform to the characteristics for Byzantine chapels in Cilicia. The apse and the eastern part of the nave in the small chapel X have partially collapsed. The rest of the nave is covered in rubble and stands to less than 1 m. in height. The walls of this chapel are constructed with somewhat irregular courses of undressed stones and with some of the dressed ashlar that was borrowed from the neighboring Roman city of Korykos and employed by the Byzantine masons in the walls of the castle. There is evidence of an irregular poured

⁸⁷ Langlois, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 21), 48.

⁸⁸ W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, trans. J. M. Brownjohn (London, 1966), 80.

⁸⁹ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 246–49. In the rest of the sea castle and in all of the walls of the land castle the masonry consists of the recycled ashlar from the neighboring Roman city.

⁹⁰ The only true double trace of a circuit wall in Armenia proper occurs at the city of Ani. In Armenian garrison forts of the same size as Korykos a single wall with rounded towers is the rule. Normally, Armenian engineers employ multiple circuits to create separate baileys (e.g., Yılan in Cilicia). See Berkian, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 4), 229 ff.; R. Fedden and J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles* (London, 1957), 96 ff.

⁹¹ E. Rosenbaum, G. Huber, and S. Onurkan, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (Ankara, 1967), 24 and 67. Outside Cilicia the small Byzantine chapels have many of the same peculiar features; see Winfield and Wainwright, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 25), 157–58; D. Talbot Rice, "Notice of Some Religious Buildings in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond," *Byzantion*, 5 (1929–30), 47 ff.; S. Ballance, "The Byzantine Churches of Trebizond," *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 166, 168, and 171. The chapel identified as "D" by Ballance (p. 151) has apsidal niches, but they may belong to a post-Byzantine period or be the result of Armenian reconstruction.

⁹² Rosenbaum, *op. cit.*, 23, 34, and 38; R. P. Harper and I. Bayburtluoğlu, "Preliminary Report on Excavations at Şar, Comana Cappadociae, in 1967," *AnatSt*, 18 (1968), 151.

⁹³ A few of the large Byzantine chapels outside Cilicia have apsidal niches (e.g., St. Akindinos); see Winfield and Wainwright, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 25), 146.

core. The chapel has no niches and only a single door at the west; it appears that the north and south walls of the nave each had a single window near this door. Despite its small size, two pilasters rise on the interior to support a transverse arch in the center of the nave. These features would be uncommon for Armenian chapels in Cilicia.

The design of chapel U is distinctively Byzantine. In 1973 the west half of the nave and the north section of the apse were in ruins. Most of the masonry in the chapel is the ashlar that was recycled from the Roman city. The ashlar in the walls of the nave measures on the average 31 cm. in length and 22 cm. in height. The rectangular stones in the apse are only 20 cm. in length and 15 cm. in height. The interstices of the stones are filled with mortar. A number of areas in the walls of the nave have been repaired with stones of inferior quality. The masonry in the vault of the nave contains thin, rectangular blocks of poor quality and small pebbles in a thick matrix of mortar. The walls of the chapel are so slender that a poured core is seldom employed.

On the exterior of chapel U the walls of the apse and the nave are supported by eleven buttresses (figs. 39 and 40). External supports are never used on the Armenian churches and chapels in Cilicia. The nave is opened by three doors, one located in each of the walls. In the south wall of the nave the squareheaded door is at the west end and is blocked with rubble. Today there is evidence for only a single window at the east end of the south wall. In the north wall there are two windows; one is high in the center of the wall, and the other is at the east. The roundheaded door in the north wall is at the west end.

On the interior of chapel U there are features that would be atypical for an Armenian chapel (fig. 41). There is no clear division between the apse and the nave. The large, neatly plugged window in the apsidal wall is over 2 m. above the floor level, which is quite unlike the low-level windows in Armenian chapels. There is no cornice molding to divide the semidome from the apsidal wall. In fact, the apsidal wall is pierced by a curious roundheaded door at the north. A similar apsidal door at the south is blocked today and does not appear on the survey. Not one niche is present in this chapel. The pilasters are constructed with simple alternating courses of rectangular stones in a style that is not similar to the Armenian technique.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See *supra*, note 23.

Neither of the two building periods which E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer have postulated for the nave of the chapel is Armenian.⁹⁵ It is unclear whether this structure was used as a chapel during the period of the Armenian residence.

In terms of masonry and design chapel Y is definitely Armenian. Today the apse, the north wall, and a section of the west wall are standing to their original height (figs. 39 and 42). The masonry of chapel Y consists of two basic types. The nave is constructed with recycled ashlar from the Roman city. But in this case there is evidence of mortar in the interstices, and there is a poured core which is as wide as the combined thickness of the inner and outer facing stones. The second type of masonry appears only on the interior of the apsidal wall and semidome. It consists of superbly dressed and joined rectangular blocks. The size and quality of the stones are similar to the smooth ashlar at Çandır. There are no traces of mortar in the joints. Much of this masonry was cut specifically for the apse.

The nave of chapel Y is opened by a door in the west wall and one in the south wall. The upper part of the north wall is pierced by two roundheaded windows. In a photograph that was taken by Herzfeld and Guyer in the late 1920s it appears that three roundheaded windows were placed high above the west door in the gable.⁹⁶ The placement of the windows indicates that a timber roof and not a barrel vault covered the nave. The recycled Corinthian capital which Herzfeld and Guyer located in the rubble of the chapel could have supported nothing internally, since there were neither columns nor pilasters. It probably served as one of the elaborate imposts for the arches over the doors. Today there is no evidence for niches in the walls of the nave. However, two niches flank the broadly splayed window in the apse. The south niche has a pointed hood and the north niche is rounded at the top. As is typical in Armenian chapels, the apsidal window is placed at a low level in the wall. The semidome, which is divided from the apsidal wall by a tapered cornice, is constructed in the typical pattern of concentric courses (cf. Kız).⁹⁷ Near the area of the apsidal niches the Armenian architects enlarged the radius of the apse by 20 cm.

⁹⁵ Herzfeld and Guyer, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), 184.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁹⁷ The semidome of chapel Y does not have an oblong center. In Cilicia the Byzantines only employ concentric courses of ashlar in the semidomes of their largest basilicas; see Herzfeld and Guyer, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), 122 ff. and 141 and compare M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (1979), 137 ff. and figs. 6 and 19.

Building C in the sea castle has the essential characteristics of an Armenian chapel in Cilicia (fig. 38). Today all its walls are standing to at least 1.50 m. in height. The masonry consists of the recycled Roman ashlar that is used extensively in the south and east walls of the island fort. The nave is pierced by three doors. The placement of a door in the north wall of the nave is also repeated at Kız and Çardak. The apsidal window is splayed slightly, and it is flanked by two squareheaded niches. The only anomaly that sets buildings C and Y apart from the other Armenian chapels is the fact that the exteriors of their east ends are rounded off. There is no topographical or military reason for this shape, and it may be a conscious attempt to imitate the exterior façades of the earlier Byzantine chapels.

CONCLUSION

In 1976 Hellenkemper published the only monograph on the military architecture of Armenian Cilicia. In his very brief analysis of the churches and chapels he not only suggested that the quality of the ecclesiastical construction was inferior to the surrounding structure of the castle, but that "Ein Vergleich mit der reichen Vielfalt der Sakralarchitektur in Grossarmenien zeigt deutlich den Niedergang in Kleinarmenien."⁹⁸ Yet a comparison between the great metropolitan churches of Armenia proper and Cilicia is impossible because the few urban centers of the latter have completely vanished. Consequently, when the churches in Cilician castles are likened to the vast corpus of structures from the same period in Armenia, the former seem inferior. But if the comparison is made with the ecclesiastical buildings in the forts and cloisters of Armenia proper, then the similarity in size and purpose is remarkable.

Clearly, this correlation is recognizable at the fort of Amberd which is located northwest of Erevan in Soviet Armenia. Long after the period of Urartian occupation the Armenians constructed fortified walls and internal structures at Amberd from the eighth to the eleventh century. It is possible that the initial phase of construction began under Ašot II Erkat'. At this point a small garrison resided in Amberd, and the fort's only religious structure was a chapel. This building is now in ruins, but from the available evidence it meets every architectural criterion for the military chapel in Cilicia.⁹⁹

The purpose of the castle at Amberd changed radically from 1026 to 1050. At that time the most important dynastic family in the court of the Bagratuni, the Pahlavuni, was given the task of converting Amberd into the center of a defensive network. Aside from the erection of new walls, a small church was constructed with a facing of smooth ashlar and a poured core. Externally, its dimensions are almost the same as the churches at Çandır and Anavarza. Although the internal plan of Amberd's church differs from the church of T'oros, its intent is similar. The church at Amberd would accommodate a large congregation and be a worthy symbol of Pahlavuni power. The church at Anavarza was erected to show the world that T'oros I, as the leader of the Rubenid dynasty, had extended his hegemony from the mountains to the plain. In Çandır's fort the church, which is clearly visible from the valley below, enhanced the glory of Baron Constantine and his son Smbat the Constable. While all three churches served the religious needs of the castle, they also became symbols of the administrative and military authority that was exercised by the resident baron. In the garrison forts that had *only* a military function in Cilicia and Armenia proper the utilitarian chapel satisfied the requirements of the small resident population of soldiers.

Hellenkemper believes that the Armenian chapel in Cilicia, unlike its Frankish counterpart in Syria and Palestine, did not have a prominent place in the castle and was an inferior piece of architecture.¹⁰⁰ But my catalogue of the military chapels in Cilicia shows that the masonry was frequently the same as that used in the structure of the castle. One half of these Armenian chapels are physically incorporated into the circuit walls. To compare the chapels in the small garrison forts of Cilicia with the one in the Crac des Chevaliers is unfair, since the Crac was frequently a de facto capital and the residence for such notables as Count Raymond II of Tripoli, Guillaume de Cratun, and the Hospitallers.¹⁰¹ When considering the general nature of the military chapels that were built by Europeans, we must bear in mind that those structures were sometimes relegated to small insignificant areas in the castle, and frequently lacked apses and other

⁹⁸ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 277.

⁹⁹ Berkian, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 4), 68–72; *Amberd*, Documents of Armenian Architecture, V (Milan, 1972), 4 ff. Other ex-

amples of religious structures within the forts of Armenia proper can be found at Bējni and Malazgirt.

¹⁰⁰ Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, 277.

¹⁰¹ For details on the Crac's architecture and history, see P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers* (Paris, 1934).

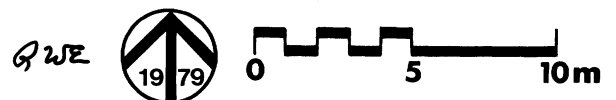
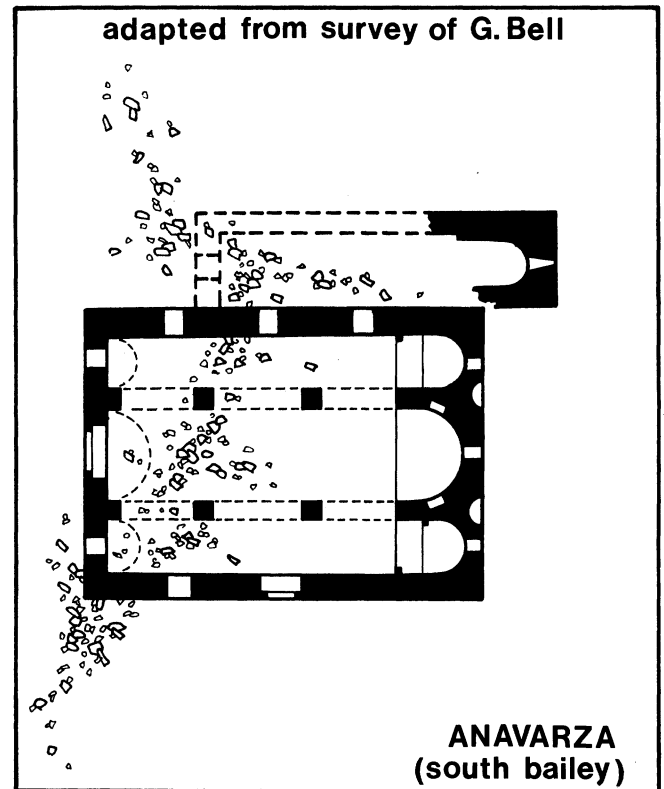
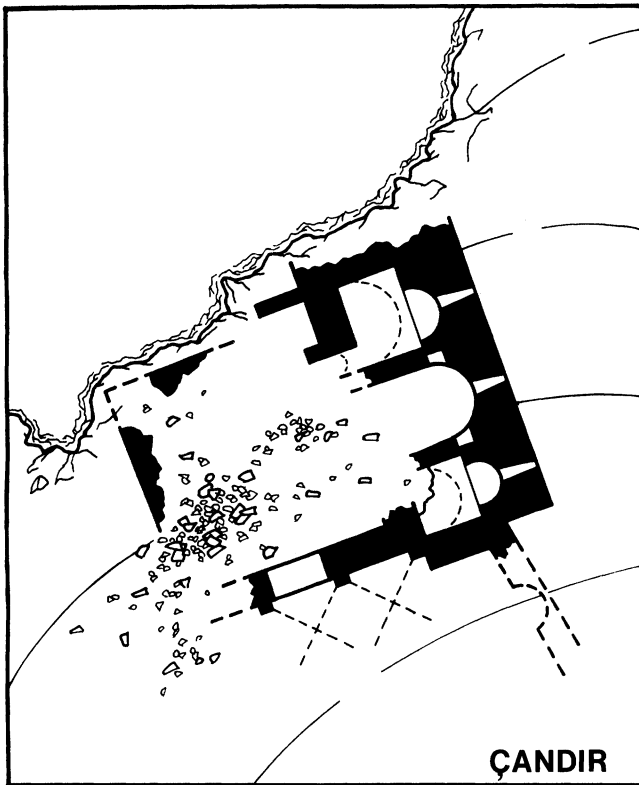
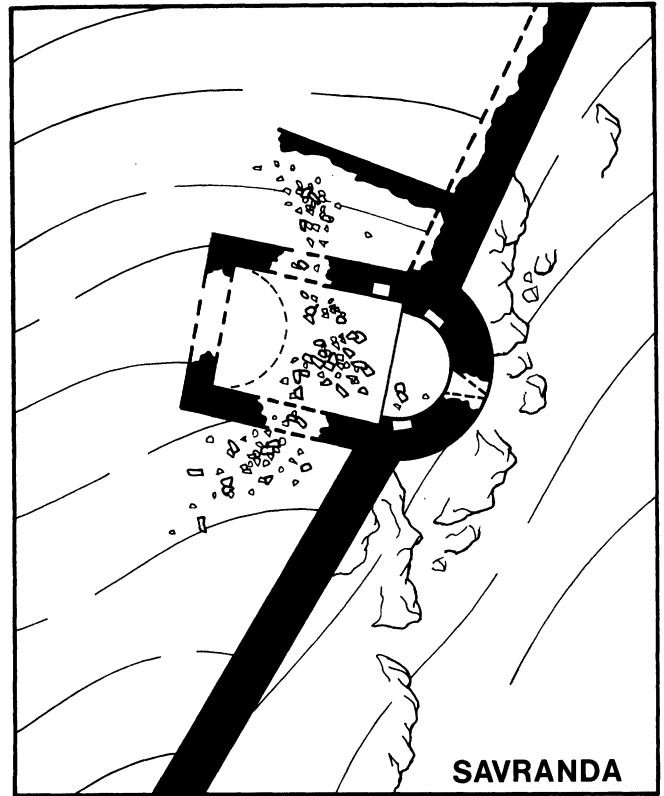
architectural refinements.¹⁰² K. H. Clasen notes that “Die Gedrängtheit mancher Burg-Anlagen liess ihm oft nur geringen Umfang.”¹⁰³ But in the fortifications of Cilicia the chapel retained its traditional

size, shape, and architectural features, even if incorporated into a wall. These Armenian chapels are recognizable and distinct entities within the fortification.

¹⁰² Some notable examples are in the castles at Staufen (W. Germany), Harlech and Conway (Wales), Niederburg (E. Prussia), Beaufort (Lebanon), al-Kerak (Jordan), and Amuda (Cilicia).

¹⁰³ K. H. Clasen, “Burgkapelle,” *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1954), 221.

The Group in Ancient History and
Mediterranean Archaeology,
University of California, Berkeley
July 1980





2. Exterior, looking Northeast



3. Interior, looking East

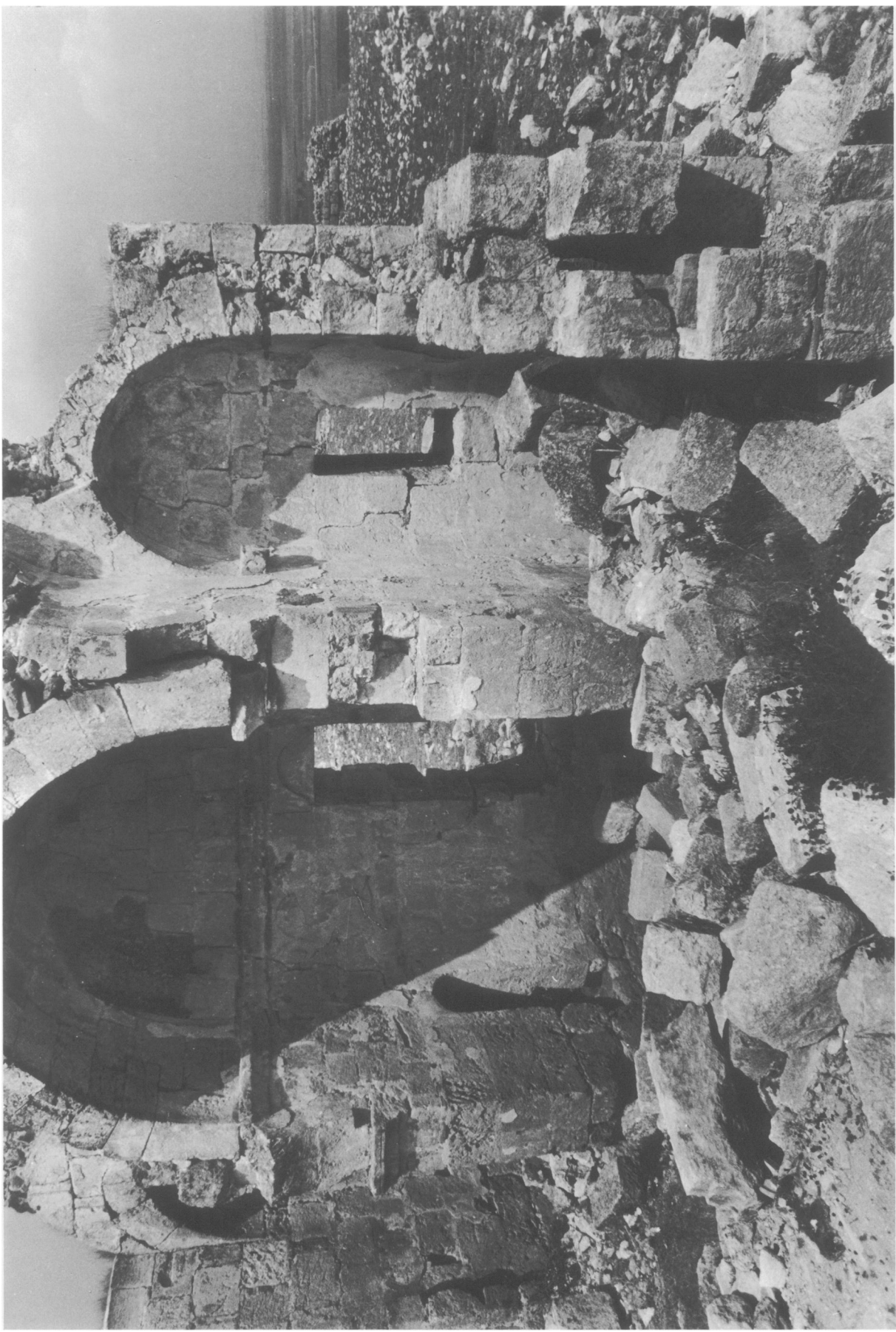


4. Voussoir from South Portal (1973)

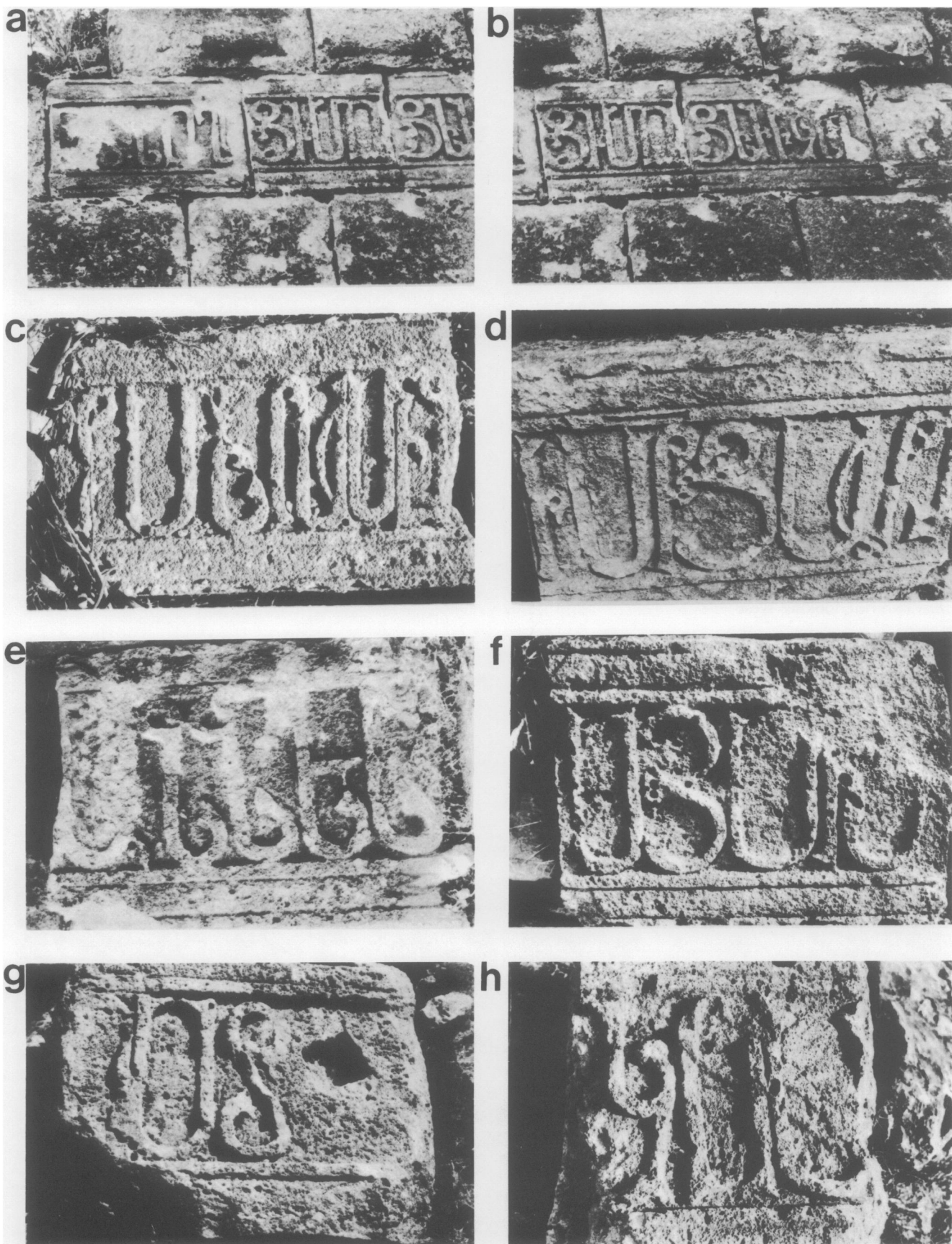


5. Exterior, looking Northwest (1979)

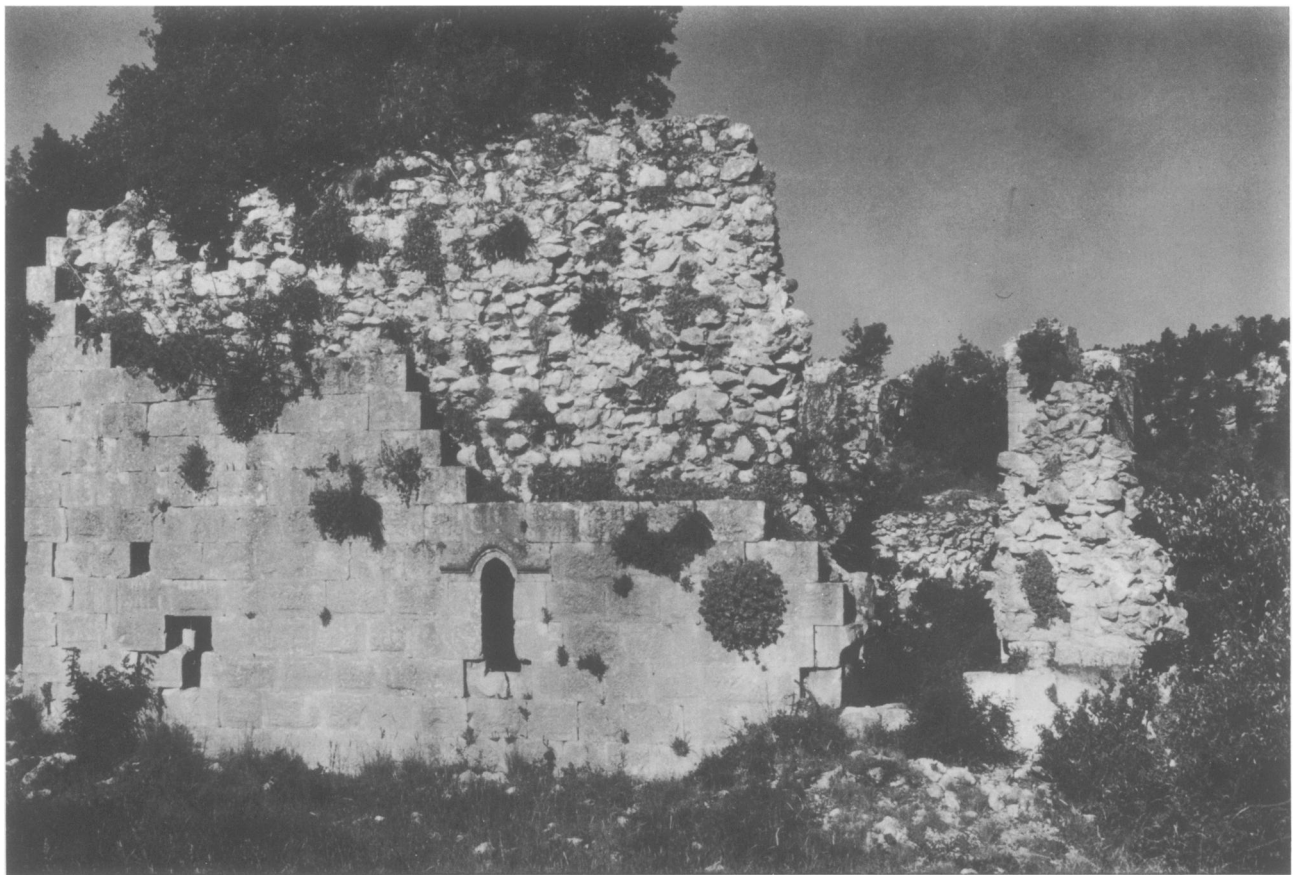
Anavarza (South Bailey), Church of T'oros I



6. Anavarza (South Bailey), Church of T'oros I, Interior, looking Northeast (1979)



7. Anavarza (South Bailey), Church of T'oros I, Fragments of Dedicatory Inscription: A and B, East Façade (*in situ*); C, D, and E, South Façade (?); F, G, and H, West Façade (1973)



8. Exterior, looking West

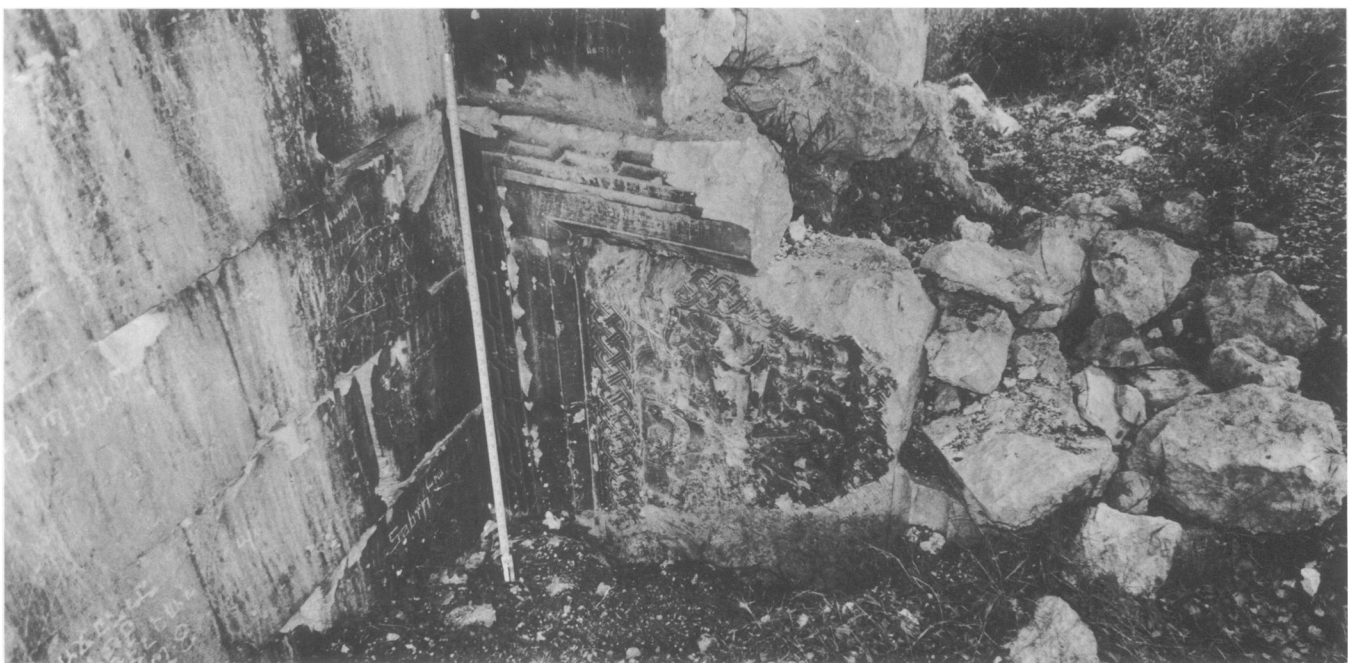


9. View from the West

Çandır, Church of the Constable Smbat (1979)

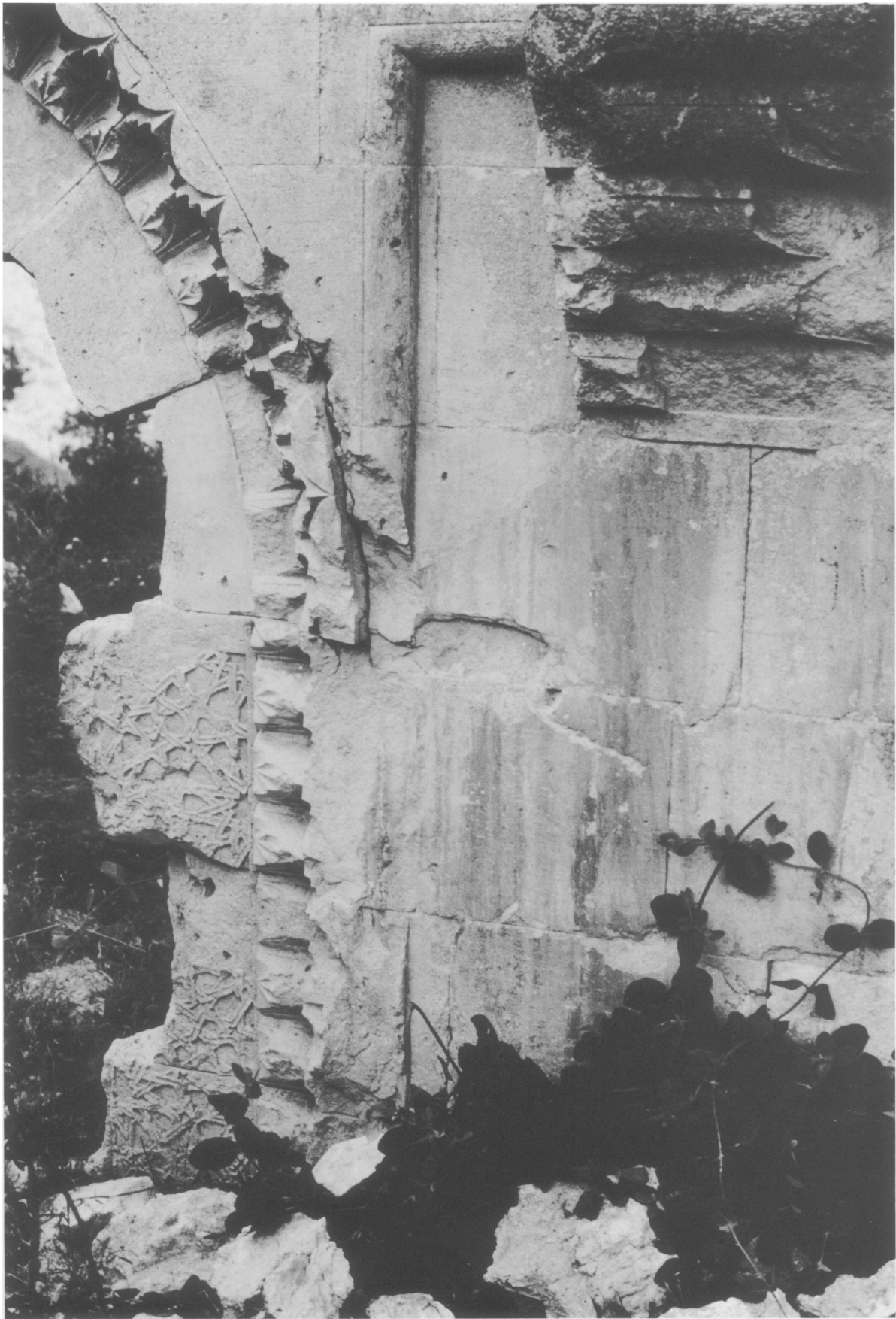


10. Interior, looking East, South Apsidioles

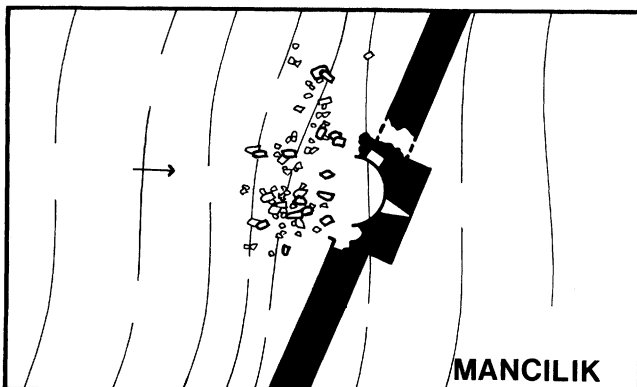
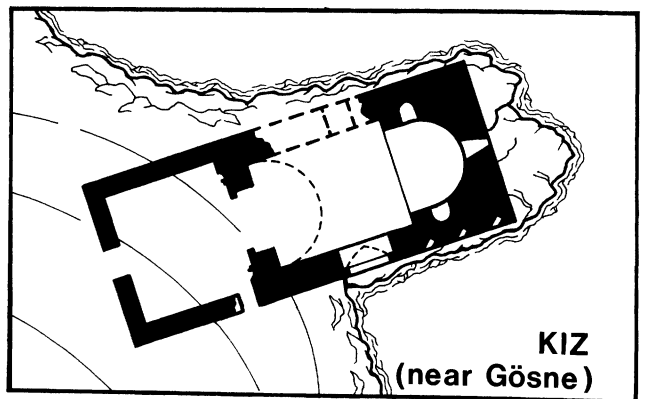
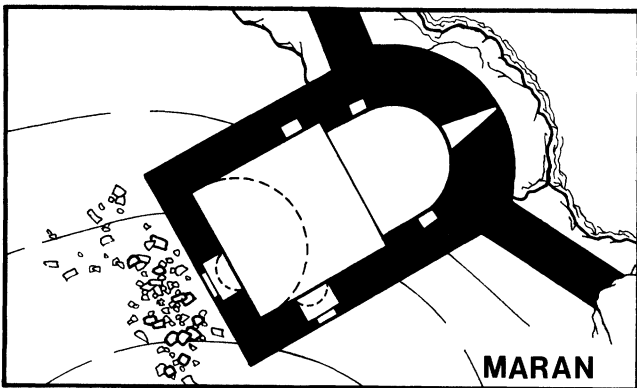
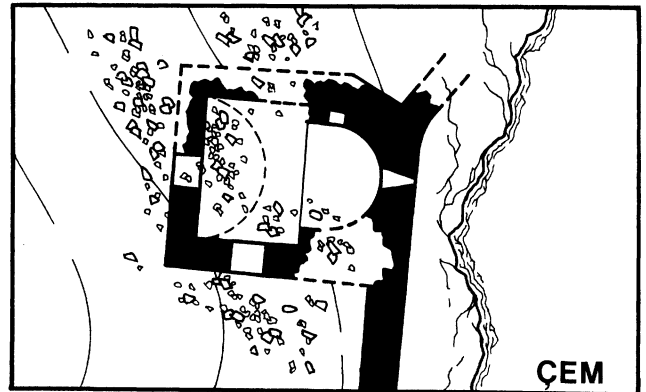
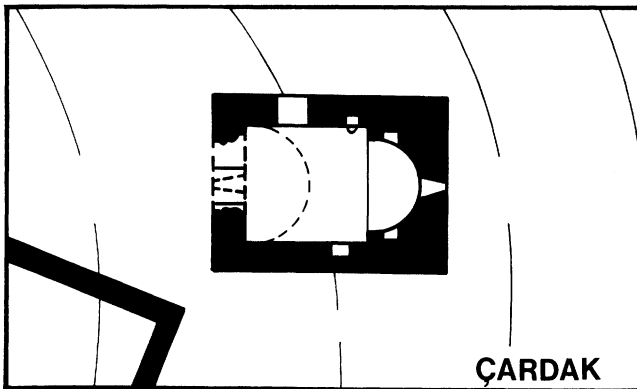
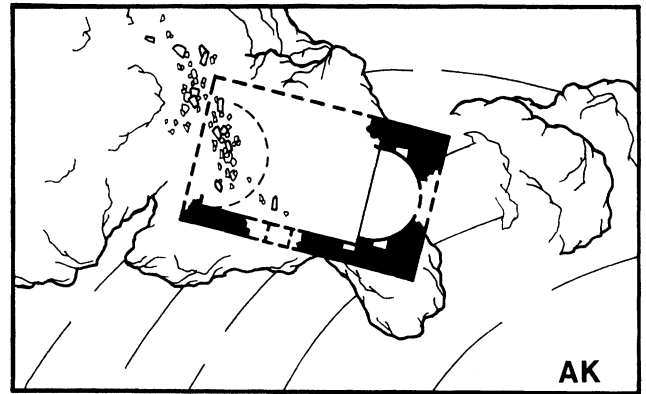
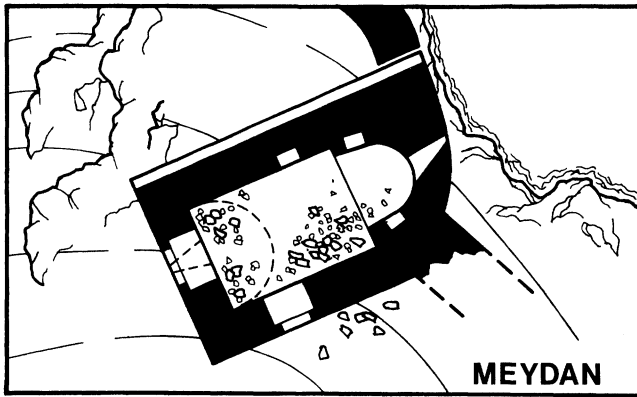


11. *Xač'kar* on South façade, looking Northeast

Çandır, Church of the Constable Smbat (1979)



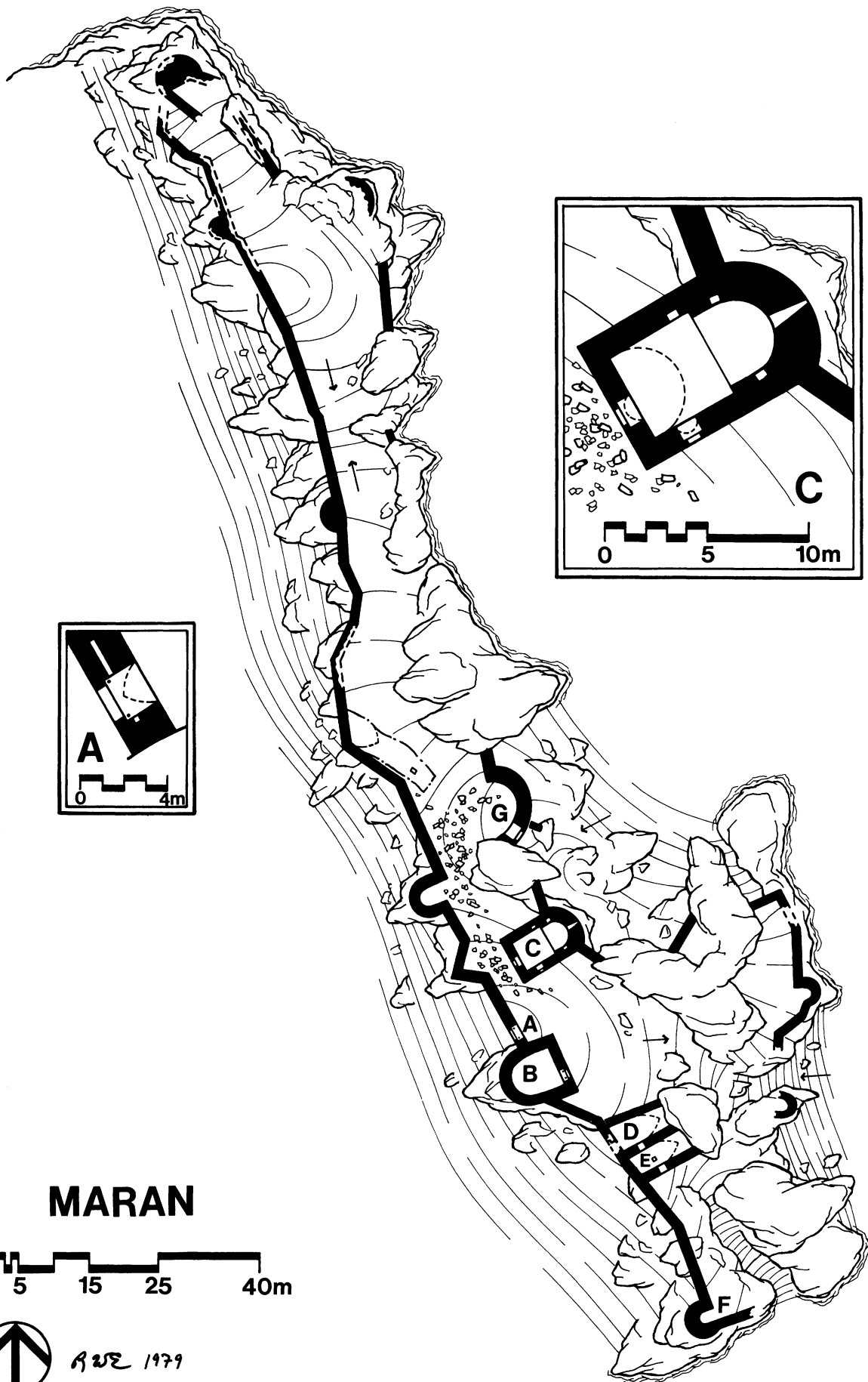
12. Çandır, Church of the Constable Smbat, South Portal of Nave, Exterior looking North (1979)



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RWE

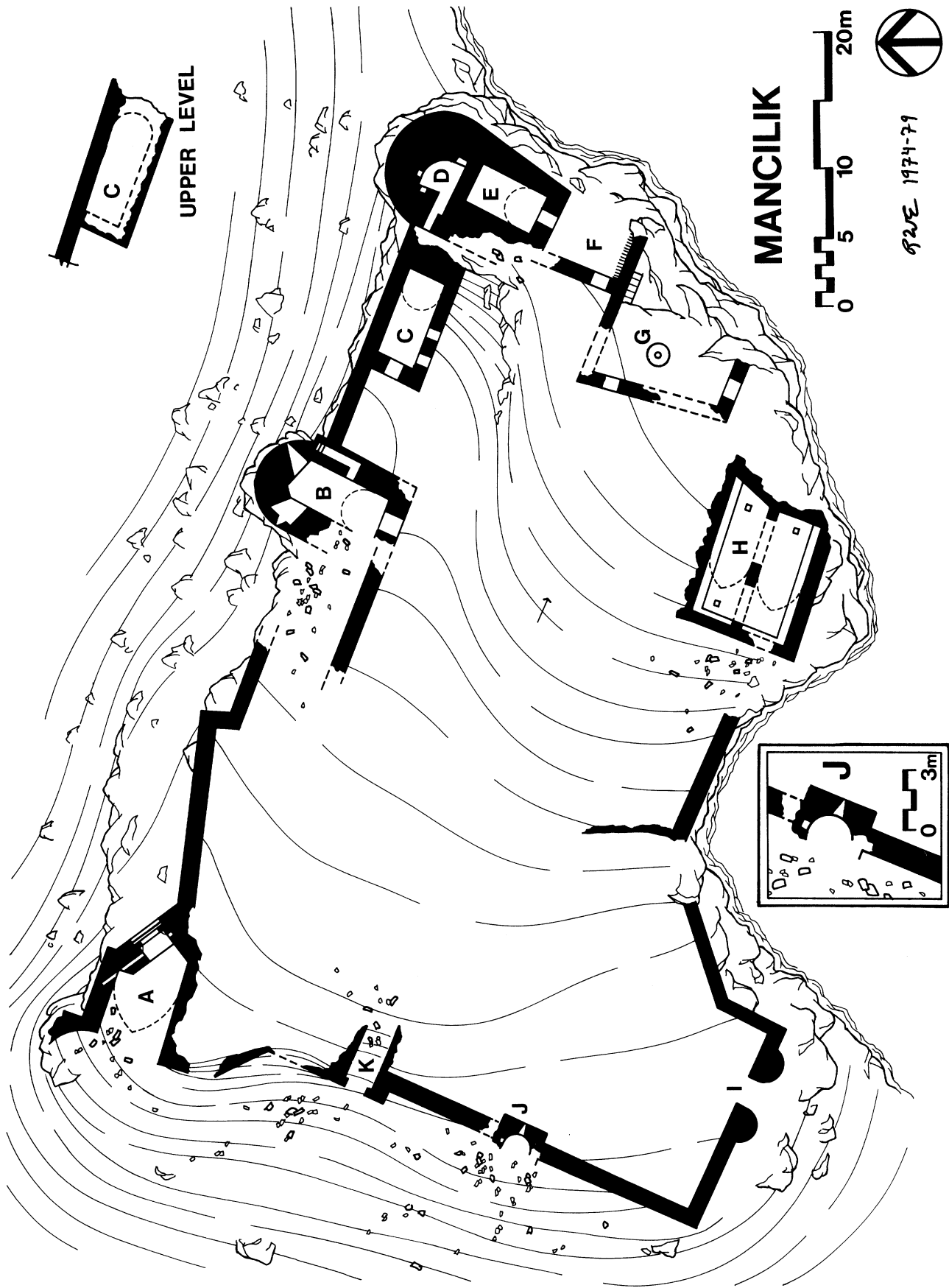


MARAN

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A 25E 1979



15. Turkey, Cilicia, Mancılık



16. Exterior, looking Northwest



17. Interior, looking Southeast, Apse



18. Interior, looking East, Apse



19. Interior, looking West, Nave



20. Çem, Chapel, Apse, Interior, looking East (1973)



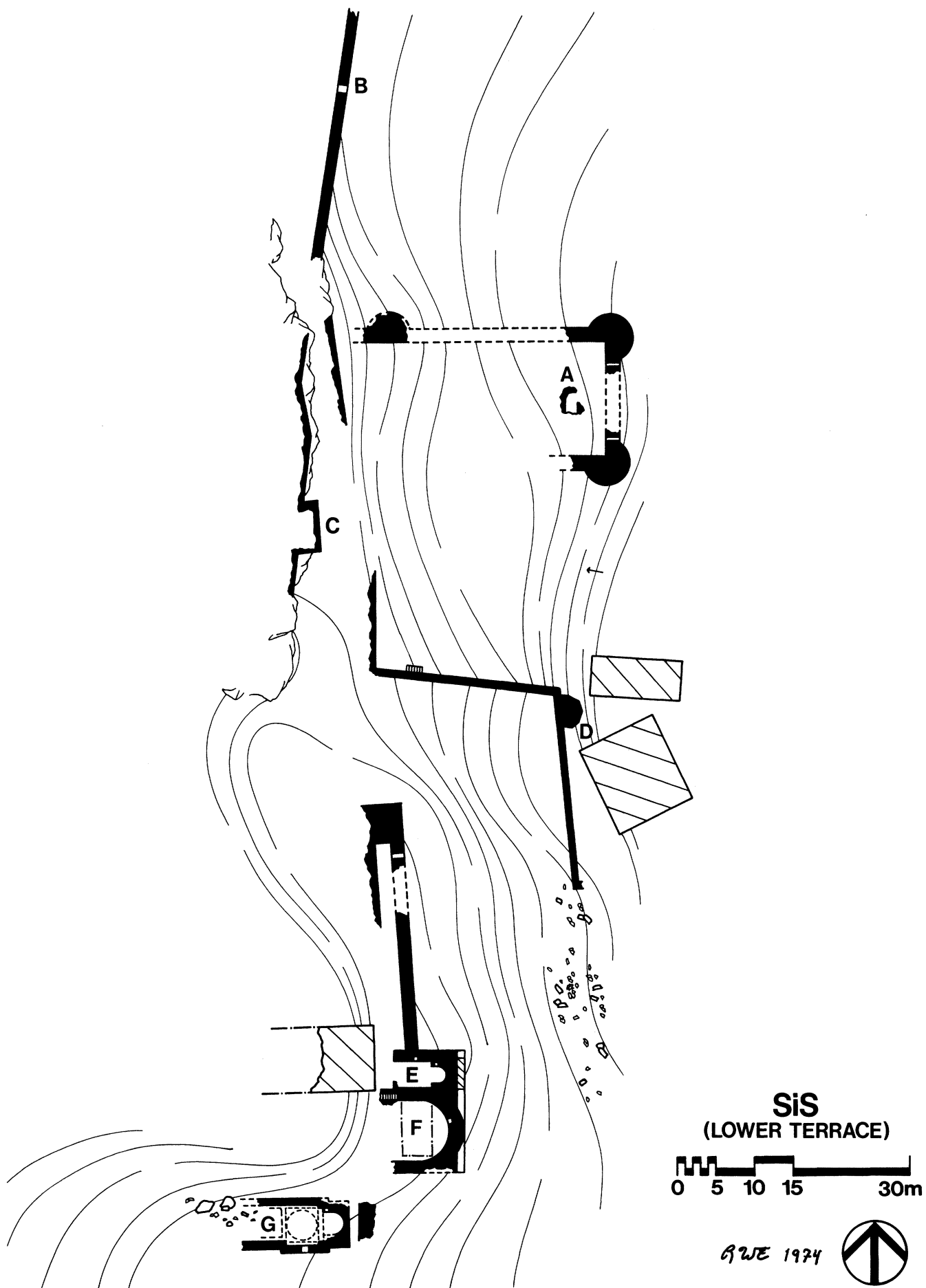
21. Maran, Chapel C (center), Exterior, looking North (1979)



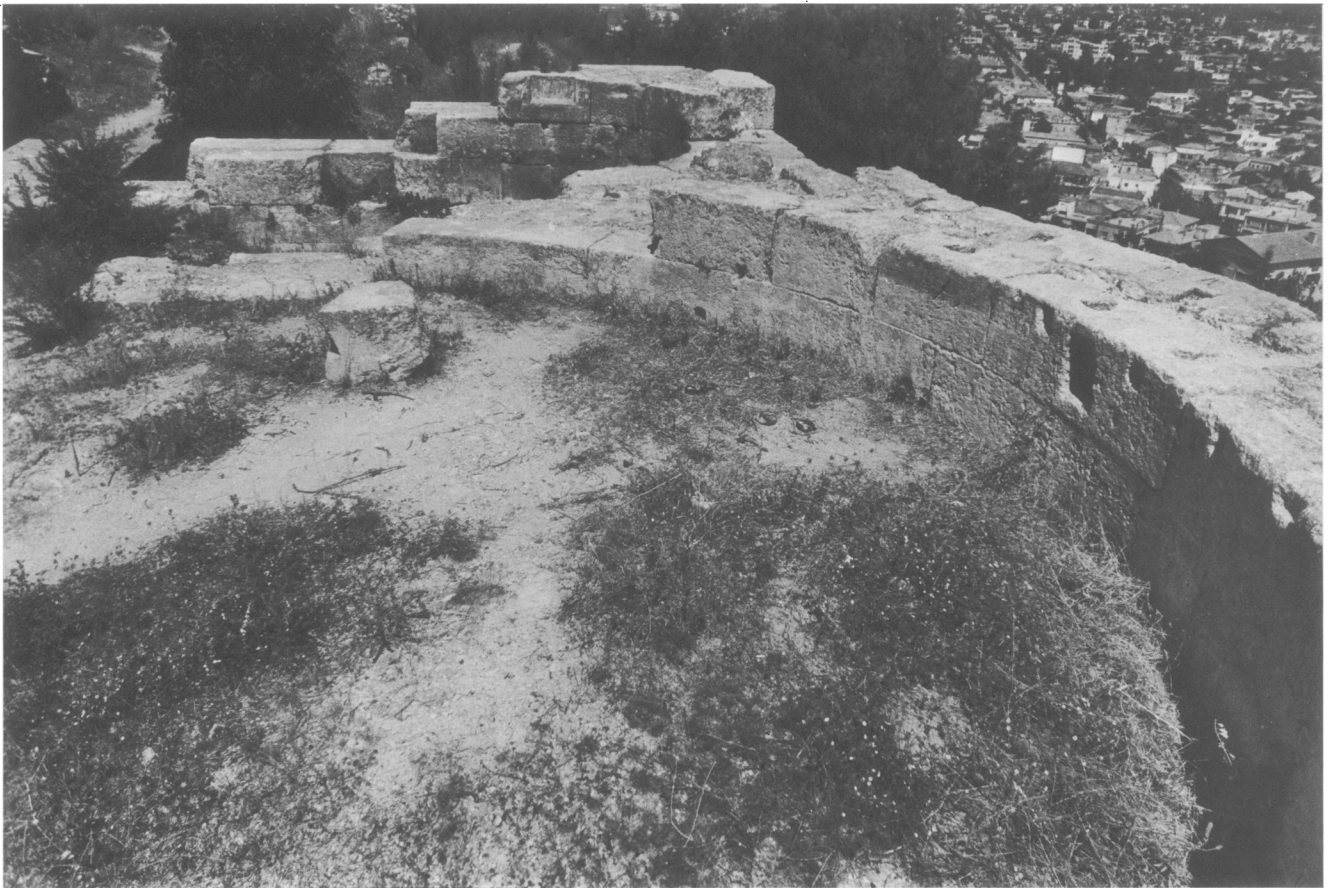
22. Interior, looking South, Nave



23. Interior, looking Northeast, Apse



24. Turkey, Cilicia, Sis (Lower Terrace)



25. Interior, looking Northeast, Apses



26. Exterior, looking West

Sis (Lower Terrace), Chapels E and F (1974)



27. View from Northwest



28. Exterior, looking North



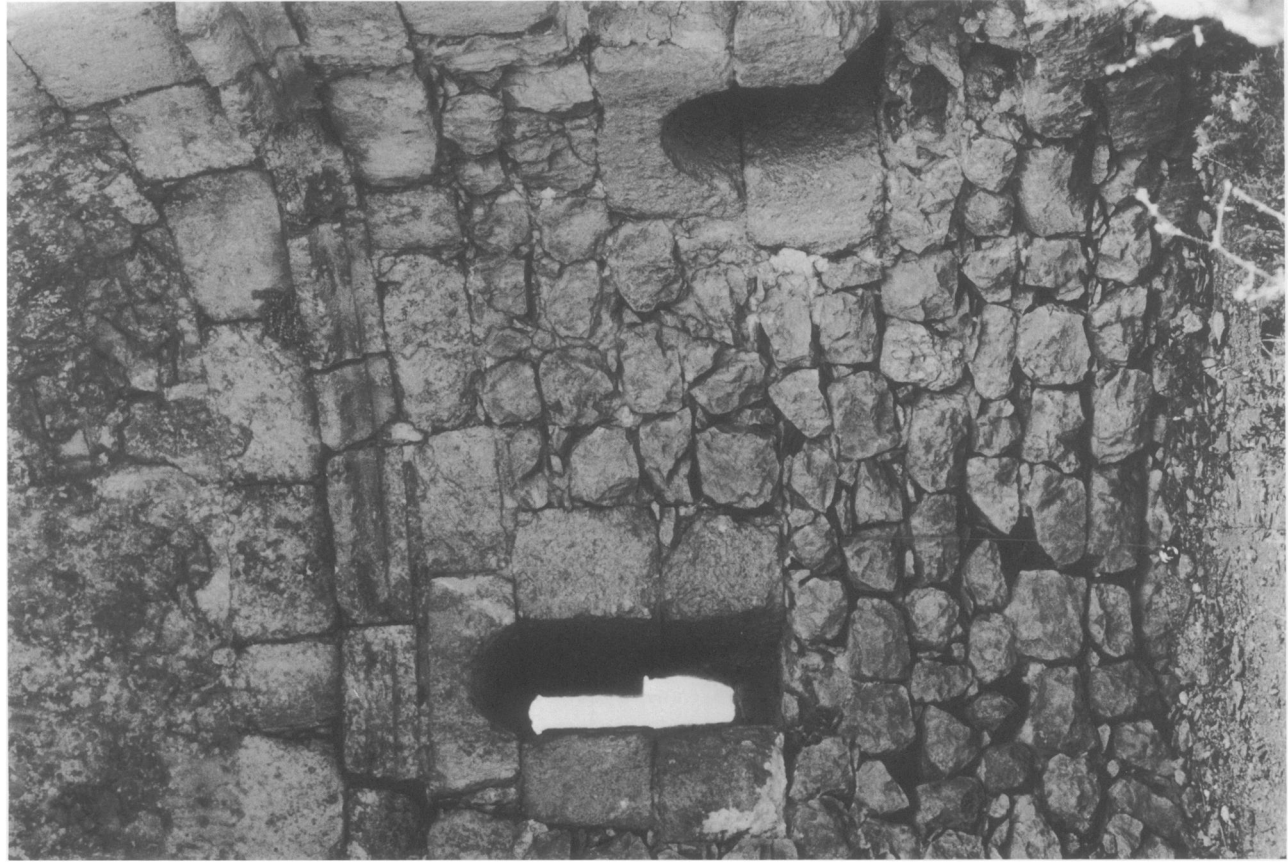
29. Sis (Lower Terrace), Chapel G, Interior, looking East, Apse, (1974)



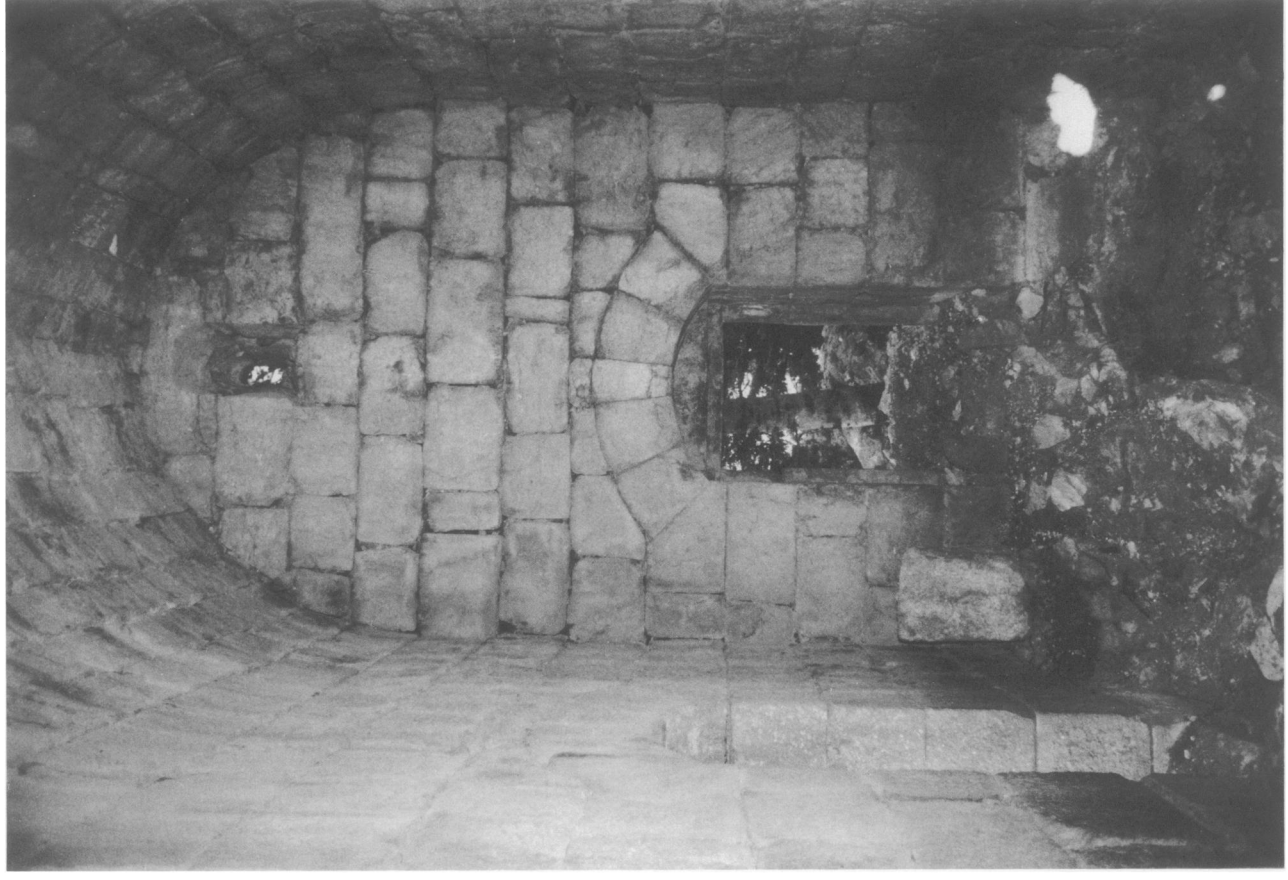
30. Sis (Castle), Chapel (Central Spur), interior, looking Southeast, Apse (1979)



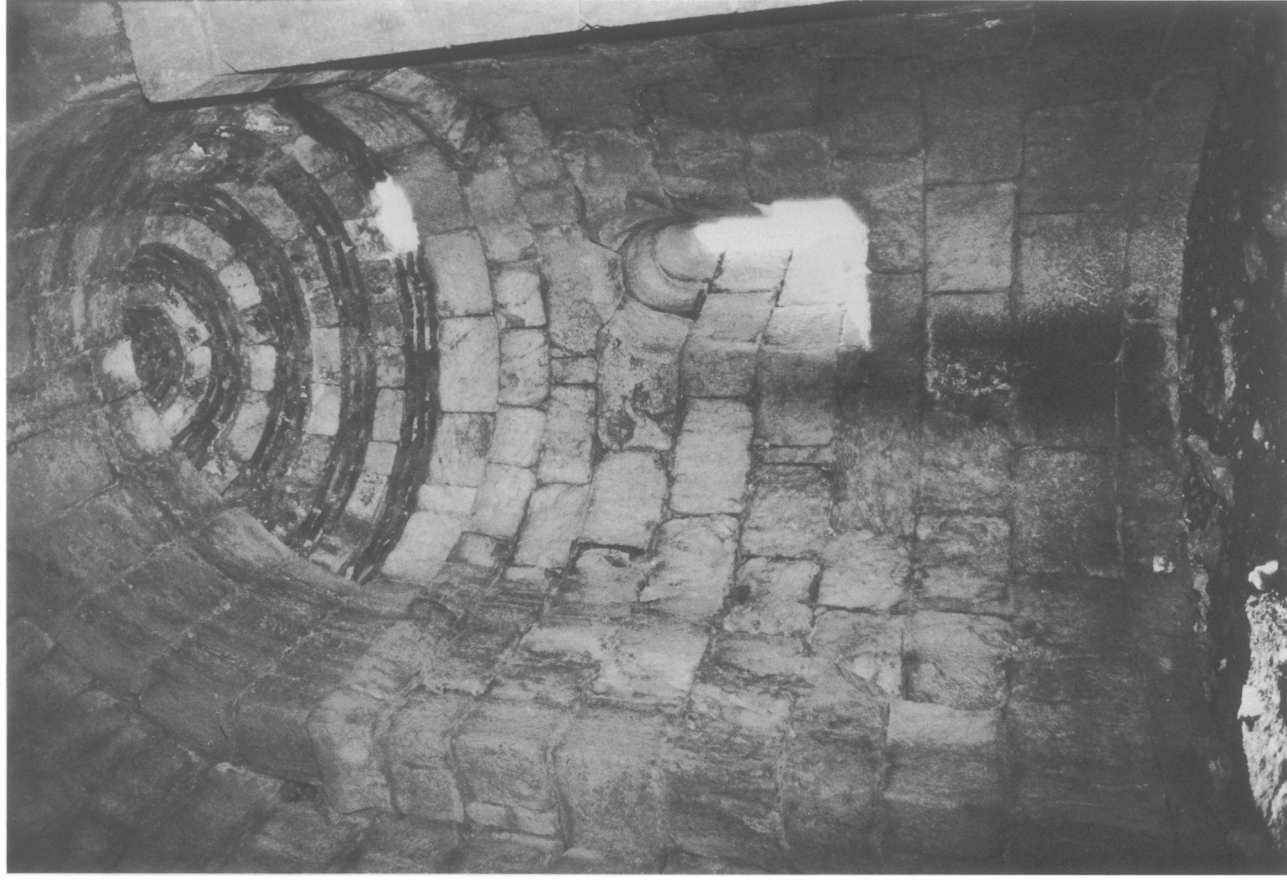
32. Meydan, Chapel, Exterior, looking Northwest (1974)



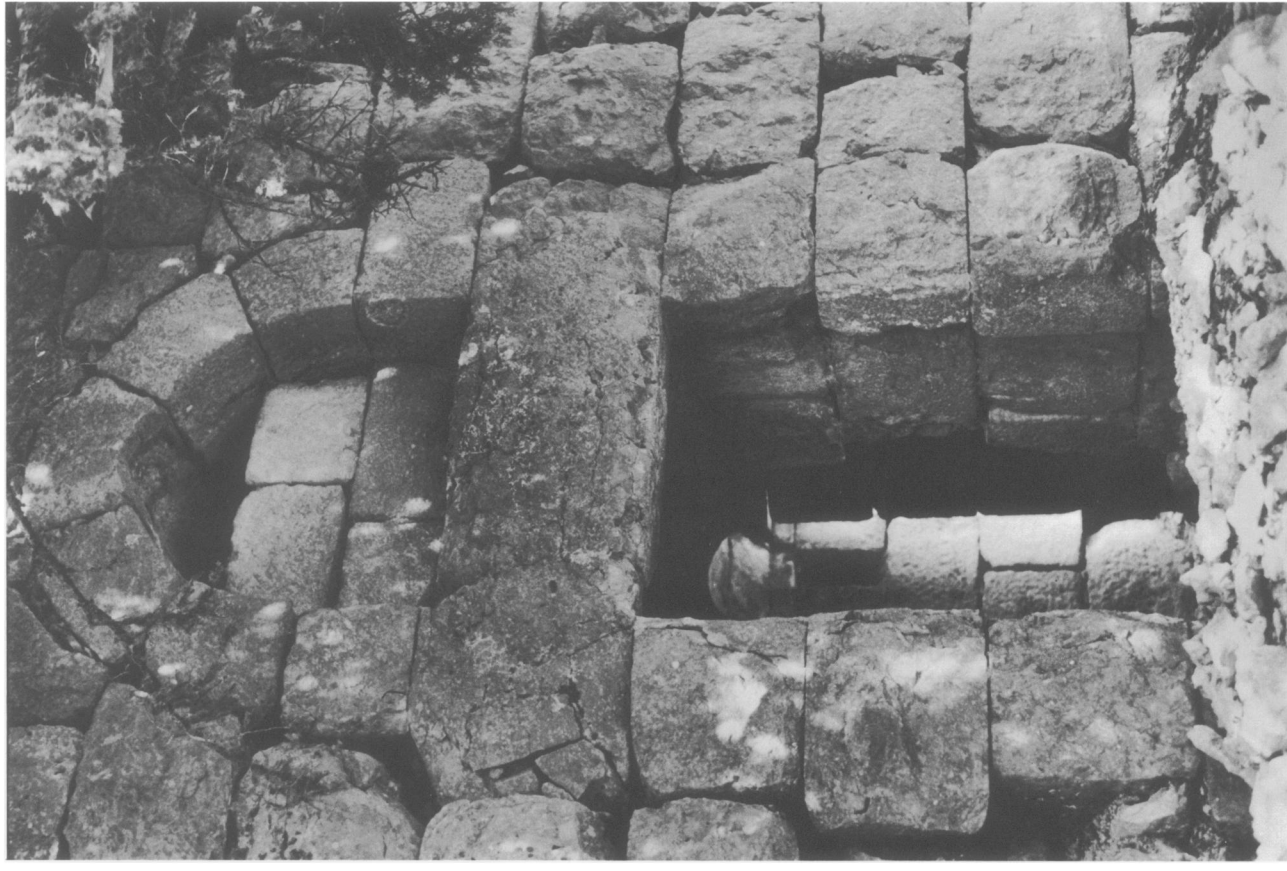
31. Yilan, Chapel, Interior, looking East, Apse (1974)



33. Meydan, Chapel, Interior, looking Southwest, Nave



34. Interior, looking Northeast, Apse



35. West Portal, Exterior

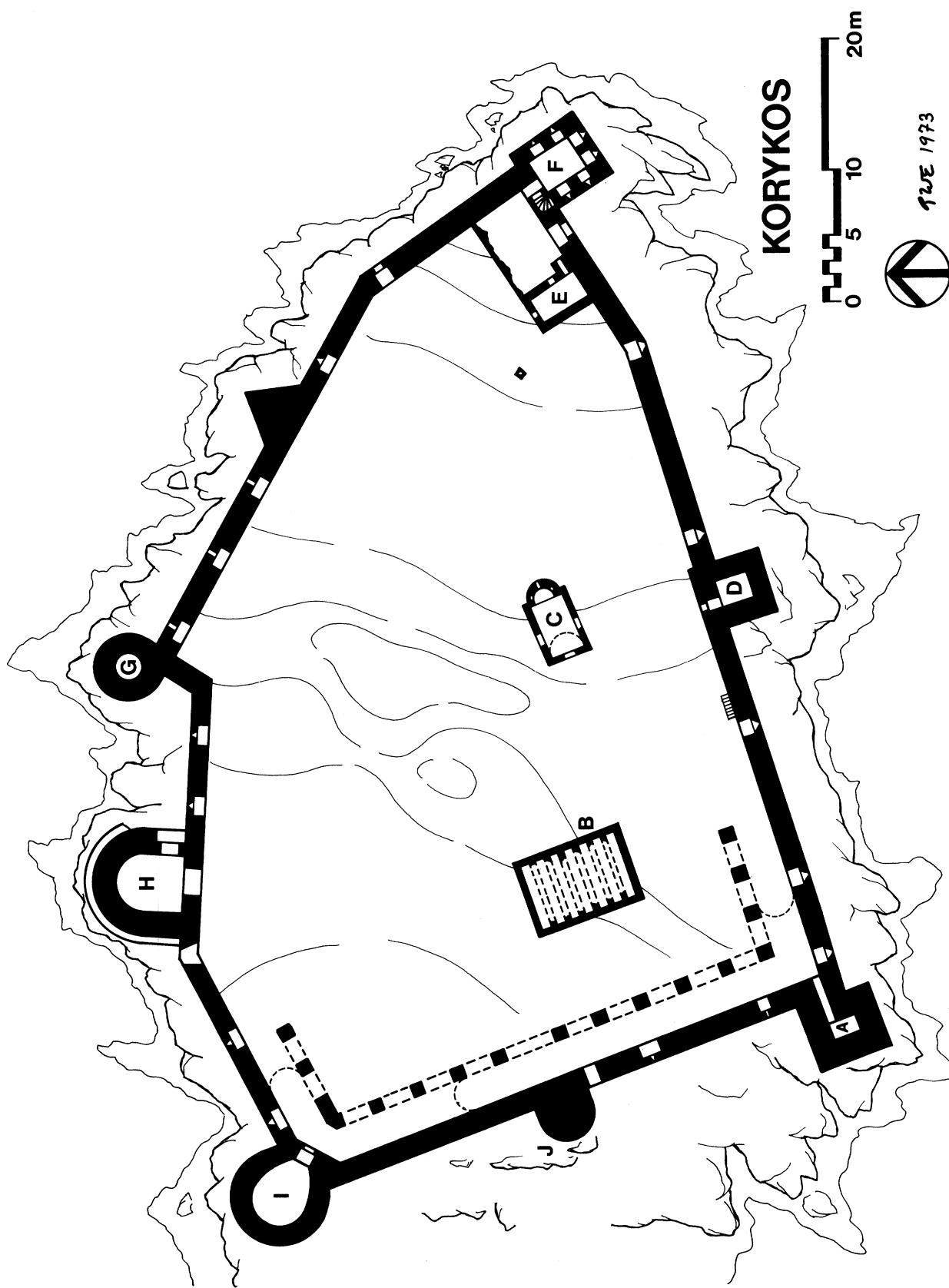
Meydan, Chapel (1979)



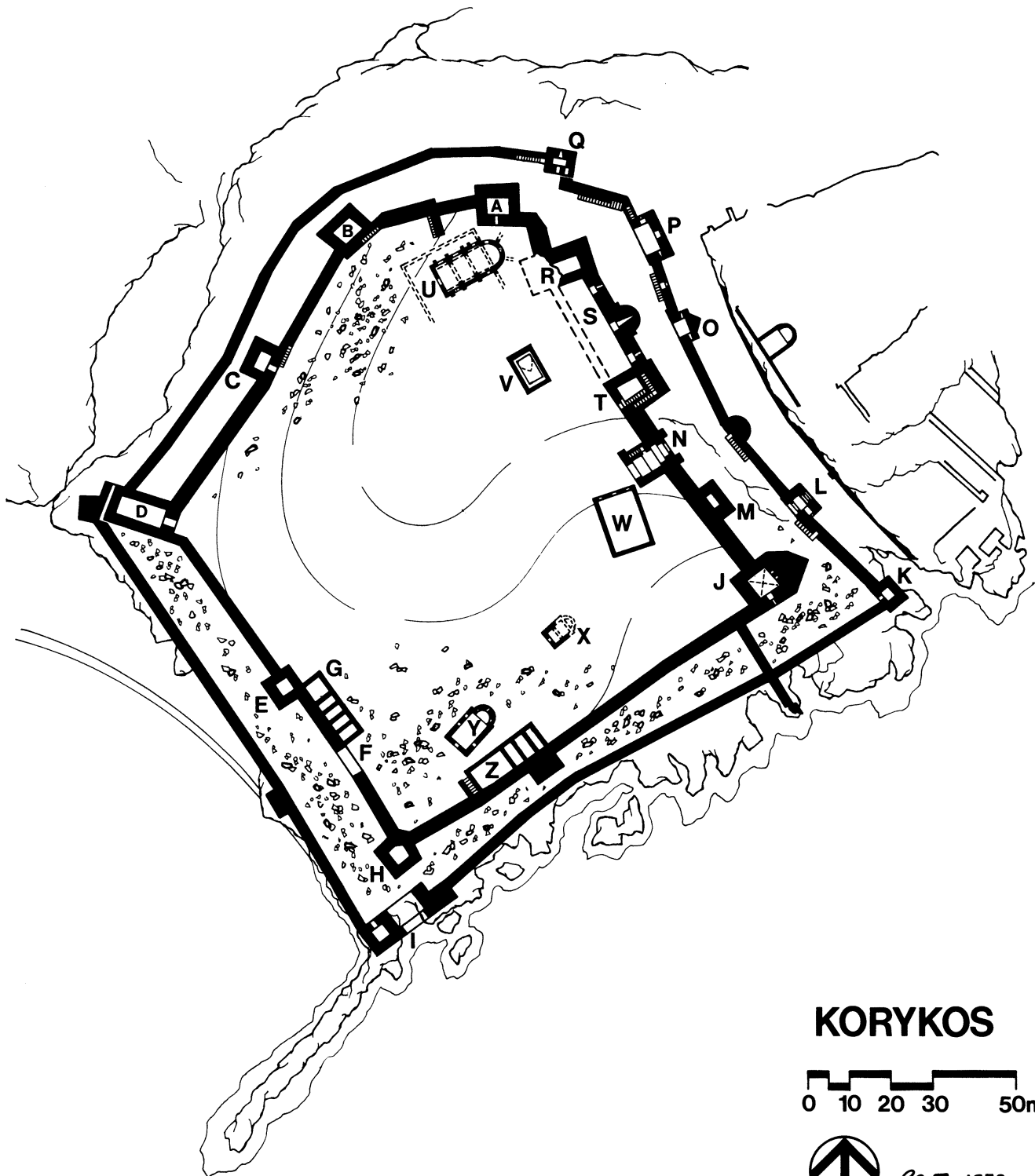
36. Exterior, looking North



37. Interior, looking East



BASED ON THE SURVEY OF HERZFELD AND GUYER



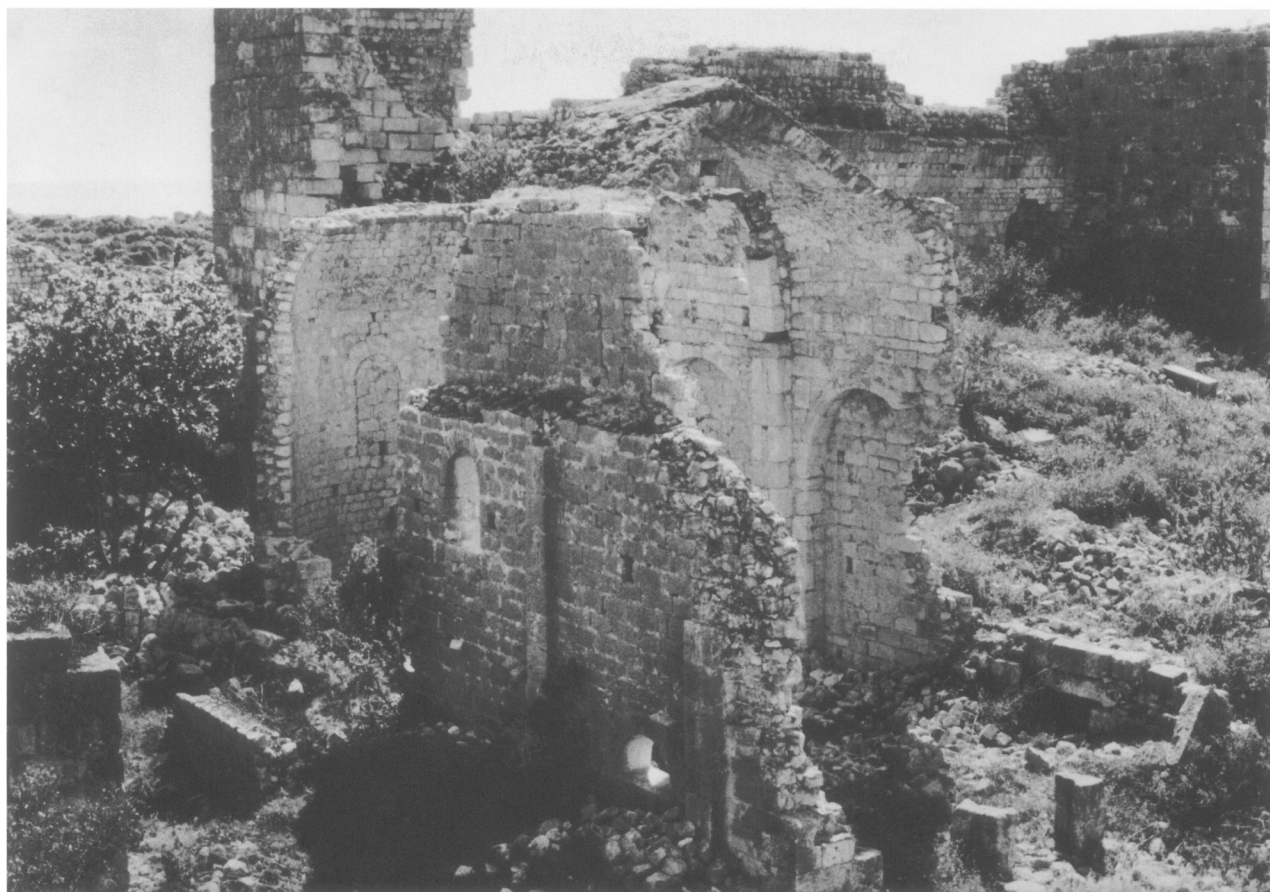
KORYKOS

0 10 20 30 50m



RWE 1973

BASED ON THE SURVEY OF HERZFELD AND GUYER



40. Chapel U, Exterior, looking East



42. Chapel Y, View from South



41. Korykos (Land Castle), Chapel U, Interior, looking Northeast (1973)

